





Respectfully
Edwin MacMinn.

ON THE FRONTIER WITH COLONEL ANTES

OR

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY OF THE
RED AND WHITE RACES IN
PENNSYLVANIA.

... BY ...

EDWIN MACMINN



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ILLUSTRATIONS.

Where it has been impossible to illustrate by other than imaginary pictures, the most searching care has been given to the selection of the views as near the fact as is possible to obtain.

Pictures opposite the numbers marked, except cases marked*.

- ✓ FRONTISPIECE, THE AUTHOR OF THE BOOK, EDWIN MACMINN.
 From a half-tone made by "Harper Bros.," of New York.
- ✓ Page 22. THE WISSAHICKON, NEAR CLEAVER'S MILL, FORMERLY DEWEES' MILL.
 Kindly loaned by Mr. William H. Richardson, who has so successfully photographed the scene.
- ✓ " 25. MT. ST. JOSEPH CONVENT AND ACADEMY.
 Kindly loaned by the Mother Superior.
 The sides of the buildings presented are facing the spot occupied by the Antes-Dewees Mill.
- ✓ " 41. ZEISBERGER PREACHING TO THE INDIANS.
 This is a photographic reproduction of the famous painting of Prof. E. Schuessele, in the possession of the Moravian Church, at Bethlehem. The photography was by Julius Sachse, and the half-tone work is a masterpiece by Gatchell and Manning. It was to engrave this celebrated painting that John Sartain did his best work.

Among the plates selected and prepared by the late John F. Meginnes to illustrate his books on the West Branch history, were several which have been generously placed at our service by Mrs. Meginnes. They are as follows:

- " 82. SHIKELLIMY.
- " 338. A STOCKADE FORT TO PROTECT SETTLERS FROM INDIANS.
- " " THE WEAPONS OF A FRONTIER SCOUT.
 These were the property of Robert Covenhoven.
- " 316. SETTLER'S HOME IN MUNCY, IN 1770.
- " " MACLAY'S HOUSE IN SUNBURY, 1773.
- " *234. CALTROP.
- " *236. MAP OF INDIAN PURCHASES.
- " 328. DERR'S MILL.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

- ✓ Page 93. THE TOWN WHERE SHIKELLIMY DWELT.
- ✓ " 231. FORT AUGUSTA, AT SHAMOKIN.
- ✓ " 297. CONFLUENCE OF THE NORTH AND WEST BRANCHES OF THE SUS-
QUEHANNA BEFORE BLUE HILL.
- ✓ " 256. THE SKETCH MAP OF THE WEST BRANCH is the result of close
study and careful work by Joseph H. McMinn. It is in-
valuable in explaining the early history of this famous
valley.
- ✓ " 324. The picture, BESIDE THE BABBLING BROOK, was specially prepared
for the "Ladies' Home Journal" as an illustration of rare
merit. It is exactly like Antes Creek. We are indebted
to the Curtis Publishing Company for its use.
- ✓ " 324. THE OLD GRIST MILL was placed in our hands by Gatchell and
Manning. The bluff above the mill is precisely like the
bluff above the Antes mill, on which the Stockade Fort was
erected.

From the American Baptist Publication Society we were
privileged to obtain the following excellent pictures:

- ✓ " 272. GRANDMOTHER'S SPINNING WHEEL.
- ✓ " 226. SAVAGE WOLVES AT THE CABIN DOOR.
- ✓ " 352. BETSY CHILLOWAY.
- ✓ " 221. THE SETTLER'S LONELY HOME.
- ✓ " 398. THE MASSACRE.
- ✓ " 211. WILLIAM PENN MAKING A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.
- ✓ " 347. ESCAPE OF WILLIAM KING.
- ✓ " 196. A TRADER'S CAMP.

- ✓ " 373. "The Christian Work," of New York City, favored us with
the pictures of INDEPENDENCE HALL, IN 1776, and the STATE
HOUSE as it was originally.

The Geological and Historical Society of Wilkesbarre
kindly placed at our disposal the pictures:

- ✓ " 421. FORTY FORT.
- ✓ " *405. LAZARUS STEWART'S BLOCK HOUSE, and the
- ✓ " *380. MAP OF THE WYOMING VALLEY. All of great historical value.
- ✓ " 128. MAJOR PRATT, of the Carlisle Indian School, generously favored
us with:
- ✓ " 128. a THE INDIAN SCHOOL AT CARLISLE.
 - ✓ b DR. CARLOS MONTEZUMA AS AN APACHE, and
 - ✓ c AS A PHYSICIAN IN CHICAGO.
 - ✓ d TOM TORLINO AS A NAVAJOE, AND AS A CARLISLE STUDENT.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

- ✓ Page 180. Professor J. M. M. Gernard, of Muncy, the editor of "Now and
 ✓ " 193. Then," has enabled us to use the plates of POTTERY AND INDIAN
 PIPES, specially made to represent specimens which he found, and
 now has in his extensive collection of Indian relics.

Professor D. B. Brunner, A. M., of Reading, ex-Congressman
 of Berks county, Pa., has skillfully made cuts of many of the
 choice Indian relics which he has picked up in the fields about
 Reading.

- ✓ " 110. He has given us the use of some of these of AXES, SPEARS,
 KNIVES AND ARROW POINTS, which, for accuracy, are unsurpassed.

The series of pictures of the five Leading Educational Institu-
 tions, in the Susquehanna Valleys, are given to show the mar-
 velous advancement of civilization and prosperity attained when
 hardships once were so bravely endured.

- ✓ " 64. STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, located in Lock Haven, at the western
 end of the West Branch Valley.
 Furnished by J. R. Flickinger, Principal.
 ✓ " 285. DICKINSON'S SEMINARY, in Williamsport.
 Furnished by E. J. Grey, D. D., President.
 ✓ " 390. STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, located at Bloomsburg, near the site of
 Fort Freeland.
 Furnished by J. P. Welsh, Ph. D., Principal.
 ✓ " 430. THE WYOMING SEMINARY, located at Kingston, in the center of
 the disputed territory.
 Furnished by L. L. Sprague, D. D., President.
 ✓ " 470. BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY, near the site of Derr's Mill.
 Furnished by W. C. Gretzinger, Registrar.

All of these schools are of the highest merit, and prove that
 these valleys are unsurpassed in the refinements and advantages
 of this day.

PREFACE.

In the studies connected with the preparation of the book, "A German Hero of Pennsylvania," published some fifteen years ago, the author was impressed with the fact that justice had never been given the Antes family in the history of the development of Pennsylvania. The welcome that book received, and the endorsement of it by many of the most accurate writers of colonial history, led the author to prepare on a more extended scale a statement of the services the sons of Henry Antes rendered the Commonwealth.

The author has taken great care to learn the exact facts, and to do this has searched the Congressional Library at Washington, the Mercantile Library in Philadelphia, the Philadelphia City Library, the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Salem City Public Library. He has also searched the county records of deeds, wills and mortgages of Philadelphia, Montgomery, Northumberland and Lycoming Counties. He has also availed himself of favors shown by Messrs. John W. Jordan, Henry S. Dotterer, Ethen Allen Weaver, Rev. H. E. Hayden, J. H. MacMinn and other specialists in departments of the field of research traversed. There have been placed in his hands original letters, unpublished archives and other matter of original sources of information in the possession of individuals and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem. He has also visited the localities and has conversed with the aged people whose memories carried them back to conversations with their sires, giving the traditions of those days. And in addition to all these sources, he has read carefully the following books to gather information: Archives of the State of Pennsylvania, Colonial

Records of Pennsylvania, History of Chester County by Futhey, History of Montgomery County by Bean, History of Lycoming County by Stewart, History of Lycoming County by Meghinnes, History of Northumberland County, History of Buffalo Valley by Linn, History of the West Branch Valley by Meghinnes, Biographical Annals by Meghinnes, History of Wyoming by Charles Miner, Gordan's Pennsylvania, Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, Watson's Annals of New York, all the volumes of the Pennsylvania Magazine, Winterbotham's History of America, Historical Review of Pennsylvania by Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania Historical Collections by Day, Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society, The Making of the Nation by Walker, Through Colonial Doorways by Anna H. Wharton, Life and Writings of John Dickinson, History of the People of the United States by McMaster, A Short History of the English Colonies in America by Lodge, Discovery of America by John Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonists by John Fiske, Winning of the West by Roosevelt, Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton, Life of Franklin by Bigelow, Life of Franklin by Parton, Life of Jefferson by Morse, Life of Alexander Hamilton by Lodge, Sketches of William Bradford, the Potts' Memorial, Genealogist, Vol. 1; Ridpath's History of the United States, Household History of the United States by Eggleston, Sketches of Montgomery County Historical Society, Settlement of Germantown by Samuel W. Pennypacker, Egle's History of Pennsylvania, Bolles' History of Pennsylvania, Smith's History of New Jersey, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, The Colonial Era by Fisher, Life of Daniel Boone, Memorials of the Moravian Church, Moravian Seminary Souvenir, Moravian History by Reichel, Zeisberger's Diary, Old Landmarks by Hagen, Antiquities of the Southern Indians by Jones, Book of the Indians by Drake, Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indians by Heckewelder, all the volumes of Notes and Queries by Egle, etc., etc.

It would, perhaps, be claiming too much to assert accuracy in every particular, but the author has spared no pains to make the presentation as accurate and valuable as the extensive sources of information given him would allow. One very pleasing accompaniment of his labors has been the personal assistance and friendship of many who are known to fame, and are among the most learned and loyal of the sons of Pennsylvania, and the encouraging letters from a large number of generous subscribers to the publication of the book.

ON THE FRONTIER WITH COLONEL ANTES.

CHAPTER I.

COLONIAL TIMES

AT THE present time the thoughts of the reading people are turned toward that period of our history when the foundations of government were being laid. Historians are presenting the events in order as they occurred with the plainness and exactness that are essential to make history worth the reading. In these volumes attention is given to the men and events around which the current of the forces involved swirled and eddied. These histories are not dull reading. They bristle with accounts that stir the patriotic heart, and in the descendants of the brave men of that time arouse a pride that threatens to develop into an aristocracy, which is even now assuming form under such names as "The Order of the Cincinnati," "The Sons of the Revolution," "The Colonial Dames," "The Daughters of the Revolution," and others.

Closely following the historian is the "Pedigree Hunter." Sometimes these are employed professionally by those who wish to have a standing in the new aristocracy, but of themselves are unable to furnish the necessary proofs of their pedigree. Others, sure of their facts, and equally desirous of showing their patriotic ancestry, search the records of ancient times, and gather from old trunks, chests and the secret drawers of cabinets musty and faded letters, clippings of colonial papers, parchment deeds and elaborately written wills, and present these as proof of their right to be in the company of those who, from the beginning of our National history, have been patriots of the purest sort. These people are well known by the county clerks and the librarians of old libraries, and extremely old people, who are supposed to cherish remembrances of their early days, and can recall the traditions of their day, which, generally, are reliable and of

great value. Through these workers the past is being resurrected and the work of the historian supplemented with great advantage to all who will, in the future, learn the story of our early days.

The field of Colonial times has also been entered by a third party with an energy and brightness that is astonishing the world. There is a class of writers who combine the historic perceptive qualities with a strong imagination and are producing a class of fiction that is being read with avidity by hundreds of thousands of the thinking people of the land. Indeed, from this class of writers will be gleaned all the knowledge of Colonial times that the great mass of the people will ever possess. It is fortunate for the readers that these writers are conscientious, and are producing stories that are worth the reading because of the truth that is in the midst of their fanciful portrayals of characters.

In this story of the career of Colonel Henry Antes, the attempt is made to present the life of one who was so identified with various movements in the development of the frontier of Pennsylvania, as to constitute him a representative character. He was brought into intimate relations with the men who stand out as the controlling thinkers and workers of the Colonial regime. In his earlier days, Benjamin Franklin and John Dickinson were the dominant factors, and the political strife was on the problem of the limitation of the powers of the proprietary government. In his later days, Andrew Jackson was the cynosure of all eyes, and the era of internal improvements was being ushered in. Between these two periods occurred the war of the Revolution, the war of 1812, and the careers of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Madison, Monroe, Hamilton, and their compeers. But the activities of Col. Henry Antes were not so much with these men as with the men they were leading. As a local leader of the people, he represents the forces at work in the substratum of government. A study of his life shows us how our ancestors lived, and wrought, and became prosperous, while fair and fertile fields succeeded forests, and palatial edifices of brick and stone and marble arose from the spot where the log cabin of the brave pioneer had stood.

When Col. Henry Antes was in his prime, the territory under the civilization of the English race was very small compared with what it is to-day. The treaty that secured the independence of the colonies ceded a territory that stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi, and from the Great Lakes on the north

to the 31st parallel and the southern border of Georgia. This section was parcelled among the thirteen States, of which only seven had well defined boundaries. Even in these the greater part was a wilderness. The coast line from Maine to Georgia was broken by many spaces of undeveloped lands and straggling villages, where there were a few fishers' cots built of rough hewn logs and thatched with sea weed. Between Portland and the St. Lawrence there were no settlements. Beyond Schenectady, in New York State, the white man dared not go, because the land was occupied by the organized tribes of Indians, and there they had their homes, and dwelt in built houses, and tilled their fields and raised fruit in extensive orchards, and hunted the wild animals in the primitive forests about them. In Pennsylvania the entire northern, western and central parts were a wilderness bearing great trees, while the streams were the highways where the Indian moved free from fear of the white man. In Virginia there were only a few straggling villages about the headwaters of their great rivers, and beyond that, in the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, there were only a few hunters and trappers and traders who were slowly fighting their way as the advance guard of the aggressive Scotch-Irish settlers who were closely following them. The valley of the Mississippi was coveted by the various countries of Europe and it was not at all certain whether France, or Spain, or England, would finally possess it. No white man had yet seen the headwaters of the mighty river, and the territory beyond it was the region of speculation and mythology.

At that time Philadelphia was the principal city in North America, and in its streets were seen the representatives of all nationalities and the varieties of dress of every class found on this side of the Atlantic. Here the Indians and the white men held great councils and professed peaceful sentiments while displaying all the dignity and grandeur that each of them was capable of presenting.

Although the seat of Quaker simplicity, Philadelphia had the reputation of being the richest, most fashionable and most extravagant city on the continent. Men of prominence were recognized as soon as they appeared on the streets, and because of the influx of foreigners, the social lines were distinctly drawn by those who assumed to be the choice people of the commonwealth. The people lived over their stores and built balconies in front of their

houses, where they sat and watched the passing people and saluted their friends. Chestnut street, the principal street, was a daily parade ground for those who delighted in showing the latest importations from the shops of Europe. A gentleman appeared on the street wearing a three-cornered hat heavily laced; hair done up in a cue, and the color of it made uncertain by the profusion of powder sprinkled upon it. His light colored coat had a long back and was surmounted with a small cape. The silver buttons on the coat were engraved with the initials of the owner's name. His small clothes hardly reached his knees, his stockings were striped, his shoes pointed, on which he wore large buckles, and he carried a cane which he flourished as he walked. A lady appeared dressed in gorgeous brocades displayed over cumbrous hoops which stood out at least two feet from her form. Her hat was in the shape of a tower, and was surmounted with tall feathers. When a gentleman passed a lady they both courtesied profoundly, taking half the pavement to make the evolutions.

Henry Cabot Lodge says: "In a community with so large an interest in trade and shopkeeping, there was, of course, from the outset, the usual tendency to concentrate for the better prosecution of business. Philadelphia throve from the beginning, was in the year 1750 second only to Boston in size and importance, and by the time of the Revolution had become the first city in America in population. The inhabitants of the city proper numbered more than 25,000, and those of the suburbs carried the total above 30,000. The city was laid out on the imbecile checker-board fashion, now almost universal in the United States, and the High street running through the center of the town was the great promenade for the citizens. From the very outset good building was the rule; the houses were chiefly of brick, some of stone, and but few of wood. The public buildings were comely and useful structures, and considered in their day imposing and handsome. The churches were small and unpretentious, but neat. The open squares, long rows of poplars, and large gardens and orchards about the houses of the better sort gave some relief to the rigid lines of the streets. In the matter of police regulations, more had been done in Philadelphia at that time than in most cities in any part of the world, and this was chiefly due to the genius and quiet energy of Franklin. At his arrival the town was filthy and unpaved, unlighted, and guarded only by half a

dozen constables drawn from the citizens. When the Continental Congress assembled the crossings everywhere were paved, as well as the principal streets; there was a regular watch to patrol the town, cleaning was performed by contract, instead of inefficiently by convicts, and the streets were dimly lighted. By Franklin's exertions the city had come to be the pride of the province, and there was abundant legislation for its benefit. The well built houses, sometimes rising over shops and store-houses, sometimes surrounded by gardens, were generally in the English style of the Eighteenth century. They all had broad porches and projecting roofs and windows. Many were adorned with balconies, and the old dials set in the walls served in large measure as timekeepers to a race ignorant of steam engines. The most characteristic feature of the town was the sidewalks, marked off from the roadway by posts at short intervals, and by pumps, surmounted by lamps, and thirty yards apart. Within these posts foot passengers found protection from vehicles, and convivial gentlemen groping their way home through the faintly lighted streets butted against them and were thus kept in the foot-path and out of the gutter. Houses and sidewalks were scrupulously clean, and even the large and commodious market, at the end of the High street, filled every morning with a busy crowd, was neat, quiet and orderly. All the foreign commerce of the province centered in Philadelphia, and the quays along the river were the scene of bustle and activity inseparable from thriving trade. Great fairs brought in the country people, and these, with the seamen and strangers, gave life and variety to the streets and squares.

"Most of the citizens lived in rooms over their shops, which were tended by their wives and daughters, and their daily life was as sober, monotonous and respectable as their Quaker garb. They still preserved the customs and traditions of their founder, which were rapidly giving way before the accumulation of wealth, the increase of luxury and the presence of ever increasing sects, whose leading tenets were not simplicity of dress or manners. But the traders and shopkeepers differed only in degree from the upper classes, whose mode of life has been preserved for us in many ways. The old style of living was one of extreme simplicity, but luxury began to come in rapidly after the middle of the Eighteenth century, when tea and coffee came into general use, the bare floors began to be carpeted, and the bare walls pa-

pered. There was in every way plenty of substantial comfort. The houses were large, broad, with dormer windows and balconies, and usually in the midst of pretty gardens. The rooms were low and spacious, with heavy wainscots and large open fire places, while the furniture and silver were plain and massive, but handsome, and often rich."

We will introduce the reader to Col. Henry Antes at a time when the entire country was in a state of intense excitement. His name, like that of his father, was properly John Henry, but the John was dropped, and he was always spoken of simply as Henry Antes.

Henry Antes, well fixed in his new home on the west branch of the Susquehanna, had come to Philadelphia to receive his appointment from the Lieutenant Governor as a Justice of the Commonwealth. It was at a time when the masses of people were surging through the city in a state of wonder at the portents of the times. Coming from the frontier, Antes was dressed in a suit of home-tanned deer skin, trimmed with bear's teeth, and wearing a fur cap, on which was the bristling tail of a fox. He wore a belt made of rattlesnake skin and carried the rifle that was the inevitable complement to the attire of a backwoodsman. He was a large man, both in stature and in breadth of shoulders, and attracted attention wherever he passed from the dignity and majesty of his appearance.

It did not take much time for him to walk through the city. In a few moments he walked from the soldiers' barracks in the Northern Liberties down to the Hospital, and from the Hospital to the river at the foot of Chestnut street, and thence up to the State House and to the famous "Inn," just across the street from the State House, which was the rendezvous of the most distinguished strangers in the city.

What a company he saw there. Benjamin Franklin had just returned from England after a fruitless endeavor to prevent war between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Just before Franklin arrived the battles of Lexington and Concord had been fought. Immediately on his arrival, Franklin had been appointed by the Assembly that was then in session a deputy to the General Congress that was meeting in Philadelphia. Parton says: "Delegates to the Congress began to reach Philadelphia soon after Franklin's arrival. May the ninth the four members from South

Carolina landed from the Charleston packet, and had joyful welcome. The next day approached in a body the delegates from Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland and Delaware, George Washington and Patrick Henry among them. There was no drilling in the public grounds of Philadelphia on that day. The officers of all the city companies, and nearly every gentleman who could get a horse, five hundred mounted men in all, rode six miles out of town to meet the coming members and escort them to the city. At the distance of two miles the cavalcade was met by the companies of foot and a band of music. All Philadelphia gathered in the streets, at the windows, on the house-tops, to see the procession pass and salute the delegates with cheers. The day after arrived the members from New England, New York and New Jersey, whose whole journey had been an ovation. Congress met on the tenth of May with nearly every one of the sixty-three delegates present. They adopted the New England army as their own and elected George Washington Commander-in-Chief."

Old Christopher Marshall, a retired druggist of Philadelphia, a Quaker expelled for taking an active part against the King, wrote in his diary on the seventh of May: "It is admirable to see the alteration in the tory class in this place since the account of the engagement in New England; their language is quite softened, and many of them have so far renounced their former sentiments as that they have taken in arms and are joined in the associations; nay, even many of the stiff Quakers, some even of those who drew up the Testimony, are ashamed of their proceedings. The Friends held a meeting last fifth day afternoon in order to consider how to send a supply to the Bostonians, it being a matter they had before treated with contempt and ridicule. The people were signing petitions to the Assembly asking them to raise fifty thousand pounds for the defense of the province, and to obstruct the navigation of the river by sinking ships. Military companies, organized on Franklin's system, were exercising in every public ground in and about the city, while the Philosophical Society was searching its books to discover the process of making saltpeter. Soon the bold conception was promulgated that, perhaps by the favor of Heaven and the wit of patriots, even cannon might be cast in Philadelphia."

It was a great event, when, early in the next year, Frederick

Antes announced to Congress that he and Mr. Potts had succeeded in casting and proving at Warwick furnace, in Chester County, a four-pounder cannon, the first thus cast in America.

In that company of five hundred horsemen we see the Antes brothers, Frederick, William and Henry, and in the course of this history will show why they are entitled to a position among the patriot fathers who laid so broad and strong the foundations of our liberties. We will go back to the days of their father and catch hold of the threads that are to be woven into their robe of renown.

CHAPTER II.

A NOTABLE COLONIAL LEADER.

THE FATHER of John Henry Antes was one of the most distinguished men in the Colony of Pennsylvania. In that transition period there were several rival classes struggling to obtain the supremacy in shaping the affairs of the Colony. The material which they had to work upon and to bring into harmony was of the most diverse character. The oppressed of all nations had to come to Pennsylvania to realize their dream of liberty, and to find a home where they could rear their children in a freedom that had been pictured to them in glowing colors by the agents of the Penns.

These immigrants, with seeming oneness of purpose, brought with them the peculiarities of their ancestral homes, which had become a part of their natures through ages of hereditary transmission. By these their ideas of liberty were colored, and, as a consequence, the conception of the duties and privileges belonging to their new estate were as varied as the countries from which they came.

The problem of the rulers was to bring these people into a compact relationship that would give strength and stability to the new State.

Reichel says: "There could not be found at that time on any other spot on the globe such a mixture of nationalities and languages, such a medley of opinions and views so freely maintained and so fearlessly proclaimed, as in Pennsylvania. English and Irish, Scotch and Welsh, Germans and Swiss, Swedes and Danes, Dutch and French, Jews and Indians were scattered throughout the whole province, maintaining their nationalities without any political restraint, and still more variegated, perhaps, were the religious views of the first settlers. Truth and error, genuine piety and utter indifference to all religion, fanaticism and mere formality, were to be found side by side in the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges."

In Philadelphia the conservative English Quakers were at

first supreme. But a growing spirit of radicalism, under the vigorous leadership of Franklin, threatened to overthrow them. This culminated in the social and political dissensions so painfully prominent at the bursting forth of the war for independence. Near the city there were colonies of Welsh, who, in a strong clannish spirit, attempted to perpetuate the customs handed down from centuries of ancestors. Toward the frontier the bold and sturdy Scotch and Irish braved the greatest hardships, and holding fast to their religious customs defied alike the terrors of the wilderness and the savage Indians that roamed beneath their shades. But of all that came there were none more interesting than the Germans.

Reichel says: "In 1682 the Frankfort Company was formed by ten gentlemen of note, mostly Mennonites, living in Frankfort on the Main. The object of this company was to procure an asylum in Pennsylvania for their friends and religious associates. In 1683, August 20, one of the leaders of this company, F. Daniel Pastorius, arrived on the shores of the Delaware with twenty German and Dutch families, and they were soon followed by others. They bought nearly 8,000 acres of land from Penn, the Germantown and Manatawny patent, and in 1685, October 25, Germantown was laid out, and in 1689 incorporated by the Assembly the first German town in Pennsylvania. The comparatively small number of German immigrants, which, however, gradually increased, was in 1709 followed by an emigration en masse. The continual wars on the continent of Europe, scarcity of provisions, causing an actual famine, and, above all, the religious oppression of the different governments in connection with repeated changes in the confession of faith, especially in the Palatinate, awakened among the masses a desire for the land of liberty. The distress seemed to have reached its climax in the dreadful winter of 1709, when thousands died of cold and starvation. The invitation of Queen Anne, of England, promising free transportation to America and good land without price, was therefore joyfully accepted, and in a short time no less than 30,000 Germans had left their native places, relying on the promise of the British Queen."

Many of these newcomers built their homes on the hills above the city, until Germantown was like one of the towns of the fatherland. In among the cliffs of the Wissahickon scholarly men,

with mystical aspirations, enraptured with an ideal hermit life, built themselves hermitages and in solitude, or in communities of those likeminded, gave themselves to the contemplation of holy things. Some of these men had thorough university training, as also the vigorous health of unimpaired manhood. Their habits were not as startling to the people of their day as they would be to us, because, when Philadelphia was in its infancy, necessity compelled many to dwell in caves dug out of the bank of the river, or in the plainest log huts that could be put together. There were no homes for the wearied passengers discharged from the ships, and many dwelt in booths under the shelter of the forest trees. To these travelers the hermits administered help and counsel. Their peculiar religious fanaticism was manifested only as their hermit isolation was long continued.

These Germans, however, had a hard time of it. One of them wrote a book from which we quote as follows:

"Only the misfortunes which I myself endured, and the wicked devices which the Newlanders tried to play upon me, and my family, wakened in me a sense of duty not to conceal that which I knew. The most important object of this statement was the miserable and distressful condition of those who migrate from Germany to this new land, and the inexcusable and remorseless dealings of the Dutch traffickers in human beings, and their man-stealing emissaries, the so-called Newlanders, for they entrap, as it were, the people of Germany by means of all sorts of plausible deceptions, and deliver them in the hands of the great Dutch sellers of souls. The latter derive a large profit and the Newlanders a small profit from this trade. Before I left Pennsylvania, as it became known that I intended to return to Wurtemberg, many Wurtembergers, Durlachers and Palatines, of whom many are there, who every day of their lives bemoan and bewail their lot, in having left their Fatherland, besought me with tears and upraised hands for God's sake to make known to Germany their misery and heart pangs, so that not only the common people, but also the princes and nobility might know their experience, and that innocent souls might no more be persuaded by the Newlanders to leave the Fatherland and be led into a life of slavery."

After describing the terrors of the voyage, he continues:

“Finally, when, after the wearisome and perilous voyage, the vessel nears the land which the passengers have desired so anxiously and so longingly to see, all crawl upon the ship’s deck to gaze upon it in the distance. When they discern the shores they weep for joy, and pray and sing to the good Lord, in love, gratitude and praise. The sight of the green earth gives the people on the vessel new life, even to the sick and half dead, making their spirits to leap and shout with gladness. They are willing to bear all their miseries patiently, in the hope of soon landing in safety. But, alas, when the ship, after the long voyage, arrives at Philadelphia, no one is permitted to leave her except such as can pay their passage money, or can furnish good sureties; those who have not the means with which to pay must remain on board until they are sold, and are released from the ship by their purchasers. Now, the condition of the sick is the most serious, for the healthy are the more readily purchased. The suffering sick oftentimes remain in the ship lying in the harbor two or three weeks, sometimes even dying. The traffic in human beings at the ship market is conducted as follows: Every day Englishmen, Hollanders and High Germans from the City of Philadelphia, and from other places, sometimes from a distance of twenty, thirty or forty leagues, come to the newly arrived ship which has brought passengers from Europe, and has them for sale, and select from the healthy persons those suited to their wants, and bargain with them as to the length of time they are willing to serve in payment of their sea passage, which usually they owe in full. When an agreement is reached, it happens that grown persons bind themselves in writing to serve for three, four or five years, according to their strength and years, for their passage money. The quite young, from ten to fifteen years of age, must serve until they are twenty-one. Many parents trade and sell their own children like cattle, by which means only the parents, if the children assume the payment of the passage money, are released from the ship. As the parents do not know to what sort of persons, or to what place their children will go, it often happens that parents do not see their children for many years after their departure from the ship; or, it may even happen they will not again see each other during life. Often it happens

that the entire family—husband, wife and children—become separated by reason of having been bought by different persons, this being the case when such persons can pay nothing whatever on account of their passage. The forenoon following the anchoring before Philadelphia of a ship with a load of passengers, all the males above the age of fifteen are taken out of the vessel in a boat to the wharf, landed, and marched two by two to the Court House or City Hall.

“Here they must swear allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain. When this is done they are again taken back to the ship. After this the trade in human beings begins as I have described.”

In the records of the Reformed Church of Freinsheim, in the Palatinate, are the names of the six children of Philipp Frederick and Anna Katharine Antes, and the dates of their baptism. The eldest of these was John Henry, who was baptized the 17th of July, 1701, and the youngest was Johannes, in 1716. This shows that the Antes family was living there in the year 1716. The next record is as follows: On the 20th of February, 1722-3, Frederick Antes (written Anttos), of Germantown, bought of Heinrick Van Bebber 154 acres, situate in Philadelphia county, part of 500 acres bought by said Van Bebber on the 4th of November, 1718, of John Henry Sprogell, being part of the tract of 22,377 acres in Mahanitanian. Antes paid for this land £38 and 5 shillings, Pennsylvania money. There is also this entry in the Land Office, 7 br., 14, 1724. Agreed with Frederick Antes for the land called Darby Greens, in Limerick, about 300 and odd acres, at £22 p. C't; £30 to be p'd next 3 mo., and interest for the rest till paid.

This shows that the Antes family came to this country with capital to establish themselves wherever they chose for a permanent home. There is no mention of any of the children but Henry and a daughter, Maria Elizabeth, who married John Eschbach, of Oley, a prominent man among the settlers. Frederick Antes from the first was one of the principal officers of the Reformed Church of Falckner Swamp, and in this faith trained his children.

Henry Antes was associated with the most prominent men of his time in movements for the public good. He

was the great helper of Zinzendorf in his religious efforts, and with Whitefield in his schemes of philanthropy, and with Muhlenburg in matters of education, and with the Justices of the Colony in securing for all classes the rights which the laws of the province assured them. Whenever the German people needed a champion he was ready to serve them. When they were accused of being disloyal to the Proprietary Government, he vindicated them in a speech of great power, and turned the opposition into their favor. He gave up his home that it might be used as a school for young people. He inaugurated the Unity Conferences, which was the beginning of the movement that in these times is known as Christian Endeavor. In proof of the claim that he is the Father of this movement, we present his letter calling these conferences.

“Call for a meeting of Christians, to be held on New Year’s Day, 1742, in Germantown. In the name of Jesus, Amen!

“MY DEAR FRIEND AND BROTHER: Since a fearful injury is done in the Church of Christ among those souls who are called to the Lamb, and this mostly through mistrust and suspicion, and that often without foundation, which one entertains towards another, by which every attempt to do good is frustrated—and since contrary to this we are commanded to love one another—the question has been discussed in the minds of some persons for two or more years whether it would not be possible to bring about a General Assembly, not for the purpose of disputing with one another, but to confer in love on the important articles of faith, in order to see how near all could come together in fundamental points, and in other matters that do not overthrow the ground of salvation, to bear with one another in charity, that thus all judging and condemning among the above-mentioned souls might be abated and prevented; since by such uncharitableness we expose ourselves before the world and give it occasion to say: ‘Those who preach peace and conversion themselves stand against one another.’ These facts have induced many brethren and God fearing souls to take this important matter into earnest consideration, and to view it in the presence of the Lord. And they have concluded to assemble on the coming New Year’s Day in Germantown. Accordingly you are heartily entreated with several others of your

brethren who rest on good ground, and can give a reason for their faith, to assemble with us, if the Lord permits you so to do. Nearly all others have been informed of this by the same kind of letter as is here sent to you. It is believed that it will be a large assembly ; but let not this keep you back ; everything will be done without rumor. The Lord Jesus grant His blessing to it.

"From your poor and humble, but sincere friend and brother,

" HENRY ANTES.

"Frederick Township, in Philadelphia County, Dec. 15, 1741."

For ten years Henry Antes was one of the Justices of Pennsylvania. He was distinguished for his breadth of view and progressiveness, as the friend of the oppressed, and the benefactor of the poor.

Christopher Sauer, the publisher of the German newspaper that had great influence among the Germans, said in the issue of May 16th, 1756:

"By this opportunity the editor cannot justly omit to state what he has heard as truth concerning Henry Antes, viz. : When he had been for a long time prostrated by sickness, and he felt the end of life was near, a warm friend visited him and inquired how he regarded his past administration of the office of Justice of the Peace ; whether he felt easy in mind concerning this. He answered : He did not desire the office, and accepted it contrary to his own wishes because so many desired him to accept ; he walked in uprightness himself and administered justice to others to the extent of his ability. He never respected the person in passing judgment. When his friend, or a rich man, yes, even a justice, was in the wrong, he helped the poor man to his rights, nor did he favor his children against a stranger ; and he did not lie down to rest until he had examined his entire day's work and had ascertained that he had performed his office as he would have men do to him ; and when he erred in judgment through ignorance, he made the correction directly. Therefore he felt quite at ease concerning his office of judge and he longed only for dissolution. He died in a state of impartiality toward all men and parties. Were such magistrates more numerous, the poor would not have cause to complain and to weep over gross injustices which they have to suffer because persons are respected."

Such was the father of John Henry Antes.

In his family Bible he made the following record: "Fifth of October, 1736. A son was born to me this morning at three o'clock. I named him John Henry. The Saviour preserve him to eternal life. He was baptized by John Philip Boehm. I myself stood as sponser at the baptism."

The following shows the ancestry of Christina, the wife of Henry Antes:

In the year 1644 there was born in the Principality of Broich, Holland, William Ryttinghuisen. For generations his ancestors had been engaged in the manufacture of paper. Some time before 1690 William Rittenhouse came to Pennsylvania with his three children, and with his son Claus, or Nicholas, built the first paper mill in America. On the seventh of May, 1691, they were granted naturalization by Thomas Lloyd, the Deputy Governor.

William Rittenhouse died in 1708, and was probably buried in the burial ground of the Mennonists, in Germantown, of which church he and his son Claus were ministers. After his death the business was continued by his son Claus.

Claus, or Nicholas, Rittenhouse married Wilhelmina Dewees, a sister of William Dewees, of Germantown.

The second paper mill in the American Colonies was erected by William Dewees in the year 1710, on the west side of Wissahickon Creek, in that part of Germantown known as Crefeld, near the line of the present Montgomery County, then called the Manor of Springfield. The probability is that Dewees had learned the art of paper making from the Rittenhouses.

In 1726 Henry Antes married Christina, the daughter of William Dewees, and a flour mill was added to the Crefeld paper mill. Here Antes worked for three years.

In 1734 Claus Rittenhouse died. In 1732 David Rittenhouse, the American astronomer, was born. He was the grandson of Claus. Thus Rittenhouse, the astronomer, and Colonel Henry Antes had the same great-grandfather, in the person of the father of William Dewees.

In that valuable work, "The Settlement of Germantown," by Judge Pennypacker, we are told that many persons fall into error in tracing the old families, because they ignore the old

“The Wissahickon,” near Cleaver’s Mill, formerly Dewees’ Mill.



Dutch habit of omitting the final or local appellation in their statements of persons. This statement is made in reference to the name of Gerhard Hendricks Dewees, who, with his wife, Mary, and daughter, Sarah, and a servant, Heinrich Frey, came over in the ship Francis Dorothy, October 12th, 1685. He purchased 200 acres of land from Sipman. He came from Kriegsheim, and was the grandson of Adrian Hendricks Dewees, a Hollander, who lived in Amsterdam. He is referred to in the records of Germantown as Gerhard Hendricks, the name Dewees, according to the Dutch custom, being omitted. The matter of his ancestry, however, needs further identification.

In 1690 William Dewees, thirteen years of age, came from Arnheim, or Leenwarden, Friesland, with Cornelius Dewees, who was most probably his brother. Together they purchased land in the Van Bebber tract, and in time Cornelius settled on this tract, but William never lived on it. He dwelt in Germantown and bought and sold land. In 1704 Cornelius Dewees is recorded as being a juryman in Germantown in the case between Matthew Smith and Abraham Op de Graeff. In 1704 William Dewees was the Constable of Germantown. In 1706 he was the Sheriff, and Cornelius was one of the two Constables. Both William and Cornelius sent their children to the school taught by Francis Daniel Pastorius. In 1708 Cornelius moved to the Van Bebber tract, which comprised what is now Perkioming Township.

In 1729, the 26th of March, William Dewees purchased a place in Crefeldt and entered into the making of paper, while Henry Antes attended to the part of the mill devoted to the making of flour, as the following record of indenture shows:

This indenture, made the second day of February, in the year of our Lord 1730, between William Dewees, of Crefeldt, in the Township of Germantown, and County of Philadelphia, Papermaker, and Christina, his wife, of the one part, and Henry Antes, of Hanover Township, said county, Carpenter, of the second part * * *

Whereas, by a certain indenture, made the twenty-sixth of March last, between Gerard Brownpach, of Winesence Township, County of Chester, Yoeman, and Mary, his wife; Jacob Sheymer, of Bebber's Township, County of Philadelphia, and

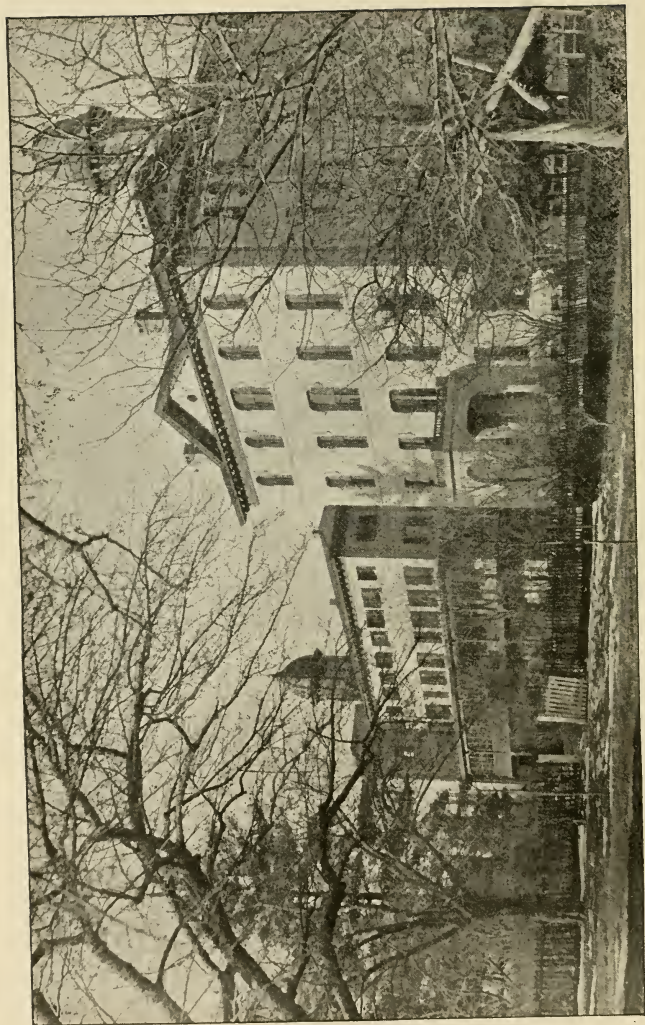
Margaret, his wife; John Jansen, of Sulphur Township, County of Philadelphia, and Elizabeth, his wife; Benjamin Howell, of Germantown Township, County of Philadelphia, and Katharine, his wife, and Christina als Styntie Paupen, of Winesence Township, spinster (children of the late Havent Paupen, of Germantown), of one part, and William Dewees of the other part, they did grant * * * * 93 acres, 3 roods and 20 perches * * * grist mill, two pair of stones and two bolting mills, and mill house * * * * were built and erected, found and provided at the joint and equal costs and charges of William Dewees and Henry Antes. Digging and making dams and mill race, and providing and putting up the geers of the paper mill at sole charges of William Dewees. * * * * For the money and labor expended by Henry Antes and £25 the one-half interest in the grist mill and ground is conveyed to Henry Antes. The paper mill being to be only served by the overplus of water when the grist mills are first supplied.

Those who signed as witnesses for Christina Dewees were Jacob Engle and Thomas Yorke, before Edward Roberts, Justice, February 22nd, 1730. The full record of this transaction is in the Philadelphia Recorder's office, Deed Book, F. 5, page 197.

William Dewees lived on this tract from the time he took possession until the day of his death, in 1745. Here, also, Henry Antes lived for three or five years, until he removed to the mill he purchased of Hagerman, near the branches of the Perkioming, in Hanover Township.

This was the birthplace of three of his children, Frederick, William and Elizabeth. This is the tract on which the Convent and Academy of Mt. St. Joseph's stands to-day. It is an institution of rare educational value.

As the home of William Dewees, it possesses a peculiar interest, for he was a man of strong religious principles, and did all in his power to advance the cause of his Redeemer. At that time there was no house of worship for the members of the Reformed Faith and William Dewees opened his own house to their needs. He was an elder in the church, and Frederick Antes, the father of Henry Antes, was another elder of the same faith. The church that met in the house of William Dewees was called the Whitmarsh Reformed Church.



Mount St. Joseph, Convent and Academy.

John Philip Boehm, their minister, thus writes to the authorities of the church in Holland: In the congregation at Whitemarsh we have as yet nothing at all (in the way of church edifice), but during all this long time we have made use of the house of Elder William Dewees for holding divine service without any unwillingness from his honor or the least expectation of payment. This worthy man cherishes a constant and pious hope that God will yet provide the means (to build a church).

Thus, this beautiful spot has, from the beginning, been the home of religion and education. The oldest deed of it, now in possession of the Mt. St. Joseph's Convent, is a deed from Henry Antes in the year 1738.

CHAPTER III.

COADJUTORS.

THE SAME month in which John Henry Antes was born there were two events that were destined to deeply influence his career. One was the arrival of Bishop Spangenberg, who became his father's most intimate friend, and the director of his early education. The other event was the conference with the Indians in Philadelphia, held by the Deputy-Governor, James Logan.

Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg was born July 15th, 1694. His father was a Lutheran Minister in Northern Germany. The son received a classical education in the University of Jena, and studied theology under Dr. Buddes, from whom he learned these two principles: 1. "That children of God may be found in all denominations; and 2. That the true Christian Church consists of those who live in intimate communion with the Saviour." For six years he was a popular lecturer at Jena, and afterward a Professor of the University of Halle. At this time there was a great deal of religious persecution in various parts of Germany. Against this spirit Zinzendorf stood as the friend of everyone who was seeking to do the will of the Redeemer. Spangenberg's liberal way of thinking brought him in close contact with many of these separatists and with Zinzendorf. This created an ill feeling at the University, and as a consequence Spangenberg was required to leave. He went to Herrnhut, where he became Zinzendorf's most intimate friend and helper. The opposition to Zinzendorf and his religious views led to his banishment from Saxony and the establishment of colonies of his people. Zinzendorf united two purposes in one, namely, to make a permanent abode for his people in Georgia, and at the same time to begin a mission among the Cherokee and Creek Indians. Spangenberg accompanied the brethren to Georgia to superintend the work of the brethren. Here he became acquainted with John Wesley, who was impressed

with the fervent piety and the great theological erudition of the German. Here the work among the Indians was begun, but it soon found a check, because, when the Spaniards tried to expel the English from Georgia, and the latter called on the Moravians to bear arms, they refused, as it was contrary to their most cherished principles. Spangenberg was instructed to visit the Swenkfelders in Pennsylvania. Here he worked on a farm and preached among the people as the opportunity offered. Here he met Henry Antes, and the similarity of their aim in serving the Savior became the basis of a friendship that was never broken. The wife of Henry Antes, carrying the infant John Henry in her arms, served Spangenberg with the hospitality of a truly Christian home.

Another intimate friend of Henry Antes, and a visitor at his home, was Conrad Weiser, one of the most useful men in the Colony. He was one of the Justices and a companion of Antes in the Unity Conferences, an Indian interpreter and a guide or scout to the great camping places of the Indians. Conrad Weiser was born in Germany in 1696. When seventeen years of age his father, who was one of the Deputies to arrange for the settlement of the Germans at Schoharie, left him with an Indian chief to learn the language in use among the Six Nations.

Through the greed and duplicity of the English merchants the Germans were robbed of their settlements and were forced to seek another home. Gov. William Keith invited them to settle in Pennsylvania. They came across the wilderness to the Susquehanna, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara creek, which they ascended, and made a permanent settlement at Tulpehocken. Conrad Weiser was a man of great influence among these persecuted people. The effect of his conversations at the fireside of the Antes family upon the awakening mind of the boy John Henry can be readily imagined.

In 1736, while Henry Antes was preaching peace and good will among the Germans, a council was held in Philadelphia between James Logan, the Governor, and one hundred chiefs of the Six Nations. The chiefs sat in the body of the Quaker meeting house, and the galleries were crowded with spectators. The Seneca chief, Kanickhungo, was the principle speaker, and while presents were being exchanged, expressions of peace and friend-

ship were spoken. It was a very solemn occasion, for the spirit of trouble was in the air. Eleven days after the council, when the head men of the tribes had gone away, the few that remained sold to the proprietary all the lands lying between the mouth of the Susquehanna and Kittatinny hills, extending eastward as far as the heads of the branches or springs which run into the Susquehanna.

This sale laid the foundation for terrible consequences. It was only one instance of the way in which the Indians were cheated out of their lands. Drake says, "By his last will Governor Penn devised to his grandson, William Penn, and his heirs 10,000 acres of land, to be laid out in proper and beneficial places in this province by his trustees. William Penn, the grandson, sold out this land to a gentleman—Mr. William Allen, a great land jobber. By a little management Allen got his land located, generally where he desired. One considerable tract included part of Minisink, and no previous arrangement had been made with those Indians. No sooner had the new proprietor got the lands surveyed to him than he began to sell it to those that would go on at once and settle it. About the same time proposals were published for a land lottery, and by the conditions of these proposals not the least notice was taken, or the least reserve made of the rights of the Indians. But on the contrary such persons as had settled upon lands that did not belong to them, were, in case they drew prizes, to remain unmolested upon the lands of the Indians. By this means much of the land in the Forks of the Delaware, as well as other places, being taken up by this kind of gambling, the Indians were thus crowded out of it. To still the clamors of these injured people recourse was had to as great abuses as had already been practiced. Crimes were sought to be clouded by bold stratagem. The Iroquois were connived with, and they came forward, confirmed the doings of the land jobbers, and ordered the Delawares to leave the country. They were to choose one of the two horns of a dreadful dilemma. The power of the Iroquois could not be withstood, backed as it was by the English. They ordered the Delawares to remove, or they would destroy them. This was the foundation of the Delawares uniting with the French against the English, and the dreadful massacres that devastated this entire territory."

In March, 1742, the fourth of the Unity Conferences was held at the house of Mr. Ashmead, in Germantown. Zinzendorf was at this meeting. During their deliberations the question of the wrongs done the Indians was considered, and Henry Antes was appointed to make a thorough examination of the case and see that justice was done the Indians. The task committed to Antes was of the most delicate nature, requiring the finest address to allay the suspicions of the Indians, and to win their confidence. While the proprietary government was dealing with the Indians from the standpoint of greed, blinded to the power of the poor dupes to obtain revenge when they found themselves deceived, the Moravians, thoroughly upright in all their transactions, labored to win them to Christ. The spirit of the Unity Conferences was not mere theorizing; it was intensely practical to these noble God fearing men. Antes, Weiser and Spangenberg were actuated by the same motives. If they had prevailed there would have been no Indian war. But greed prevailed, and the infant boy in the Antes household was destined to fight in the battle, when the entire province was weltering in the throes of blood.

CHAPTER IV.

SCHOOL DAYS.

THE WORK of the Moravians from the beginning was upon a system that calculated strictly beforehand every necessity, and provided for every emergency. In the Pennsylvania wilderness they sought to carry forward the methods that had been so well established in Halle and in London.

The entire church at Bethlehem was considered and treated as a family. All the members sat at one table. The divisions, according to sex and age, were placed in choirs. It was somewhat similar to the Ephrata method, but not precisely the same. The Ephrata people considered the solitary state most holy and acceptable to God, while the Moravians honored married life, and emphasized the felicity of the children of God in terms taken from matrimonial life. In 1743 the system was adopted and placed in working order. The mothers retained the charge of their children until they were eighteen months old, then the infants were placed in the nursery, which at first was at Bethlehem and afterward at Nazareth. At four years of age the child was placed in a choir house, where it remained until nine or eleven years of age. Then it was transferred to another choir house, where it was kept until fourteen years of age. Then the young men became members of the choir house of the Single Brethren.

In 1743 Henry Antes sent his children from his home to school. Ann Margaret was sent to England in the care of Count Zinzendorf, where she received her education and married Rev. Benjamin Latrobe, a Moravian minister. Ann Catharine, the eldest daughter, went to Nazareth as one of the caretakers in the nursery. Little John Henry was sent to this school and had the pleasure of being in the company and the care of his own sister.

In 1745 Henry Antes gave up his home in Frederick Township to the needs of the society, and his house became the

school for boys, and he, with his wife, removed to Bethlehem. When this transfer was made John Henry was removed from the boys' choir and placed in the choir house of the Single Brethren, in Bethlehem. Again he was fortunate, for he was now near his parents, and, beside, his brothers, Philip Frederick and William, were already established in this same choir house. In this building there were more than eighty boys, under the spiritual superintendence of Nathaniel Seidel and Gottlieb Pezold. The building in which they were placed is the one now known as the Sisters' Home. In 1748 the Single Brethren built a larger house for themselves, which is now the middle building of the Young Ladies' Seminary, and gave their former house to the Sisters. In the construction of this building the Antes boys were taught masonry and carpentering, for the education the Moravians gave fitted the youths for all the duties of life. The Antes boys remained in this choir house until 1750, when they returned with their parents to their home, in Frederick Township.

The training in all the choir houses was eminently religious. With every new adventure there was a love feast, at which hymns, composed by Bishop Spangenberg, were sung. There were love feasts every Saturday afternoon, commencing January 30, 1745. There was a special love feast at the beginning of plowing, and when the farm work was done, and when buildings were finished. The spinning business was closed with prayer, and love feasts for the milkers, threshers and others were frequent. Writing of the Nazareth Colonists, Spangenberg says: "They connect the Savior and His blood with all they do or say; they highly esteem their patriarchal economy; they grow in spiritual matters while working bodily. Nowhere else have such beautiful and edifying hymns for shepherds, ploughers, threshers, reapers, spinners, knitters, washers, sewers and others been composed as among them and by them. They would fill a whole farmer's hymn book. In Nazareth, as well as in Bethlehem, the special choir and class meetings were introduced, besides which there was also an especial day of festive remembrance for the original Colonists, namely, the twenty-seventh day of May, on which day most of the married people, who were now living in one house and formed one family, had been married."

The system of education thus adopted by the Moravians, in many essential features, is the boast of distinguished colleges of to-day. In Nazareth there was the germ of the agricultural college, in Bethlehem there was the forerunner of the Williamson Industrial School; the church was the first of the American Institutional churches. But the essential and ever active principle of the Moravian school was religion. A consistent, useful and joyful devotion of all one's powers and energies to the service of God and humanity. The men at the head were consecrated men of learning and piety. When the hour came for their baptism of fire they did not shrink from the ordeal, but went triumphantly into the warring and seething flames. Their joyfulness was a prominent feature of their lives. With them the German love of singing found full expression. Music was a part of their being. There was no violation of propriety for them to sing. Melody and praise kept their hearts glad in the darkest hours. As a guide to the devotions of the young students there was used a collection of texts of Scripture called the "Daily Words," or "Meditations for each day in the year." Thus, every day they were reminded of the great object of their lives.

Courage in the presence of contagious diseases was inculcated by the example of the leaders as the following instance will show:

On the organization of the refugees from Shecomeco into a Christian congregation, at Friedenshutzen, on the 24th of July, 1746, John—a drunken Indian that had been converted by Rauch—was appointed their teacher. Soon after smallpox broke out at the Indian quarters. To this malady he fell a victim after a painful illness of seven days, during which he gave evidence of the mighty work of grace which the Spirit of God had wrought in his heart. In the presence of his weeping countrymen, who had been summoned to his bed side, and amid the prayers of Spangenberg and Rauch the spirit of the patient sufferer passed away. This was on the 27th of August. In the afternoon of Sunday, the 28th, a funeral sermon was delivered by Rauch, and the remains were conveyed to the grave-yard amid the strains of solemn music. As the body was lowered into the earth Nicodemus, the Elder, knelt by the grave and

offered prayer. Nicodemus, or, as he was called, Weshichagechive, was a half brother to Teedyuscung, the great King of the Delawares. He was baptized by Bishop Cammerhof, at Bethlehem, in June, 1749. In 1754 he withdrew from the mission at Gnadenhutten, returning to the Indian country.

The concurrent testimony of those who knew John shows that he was not unworthy of the name of the beloved disciple which he bore, and that this evangelist among his people was a marvelous instance of the transforming power of divine grace. In the graveyard, at Bethlehem, there were buried fifty-eight Indian converts between 1746 and 1761, representatives of all the tribes and stations where the Brethren had labored as missionaries.

As the ferry across the Lehigh river was at Bethlehem all travelers from upper New York, and all the Indians attending the councils in Philadelphia, passed through the town, stopping for a period of time as suited their necessities, and replenishing their stores of provisions and clothing. Thus, the people of Bethlehem were kept posted concerning the doings all along the frontier.

In October, 1748, Bishop John de Watteville arrived in Bethlehem, accompanied by his wife, Benigna, the oldest daughter of Count Zinzendorf. After a journey through the Indian stations he called a Synod, which was the first of the Moravian Synods that met in America. All the ministers and laborers of the congregation, about one hundred and ten brethren and eighty sisters, and about one hundred guests from twenty-one different places, assembled in a large room of the newly erected Single Brethren's House. Brother Spangenberg opened the Synod, and de Watteville gave the following statement of the doctrines of the Brotherhood: "Our doctrine of the Lamb and his wounds is a power of God and contains a certain something which all must feel who come near us. The description of the pleura and the nail prints of the Lamb shines powerfully into the hearts and eyes, leaving something behind which cannot be erased. And this power of God belongs to the doctrine of the pleura exclusively, compared to which all other methods of doctrine, be they arranged ever so ingeniously, are dry and

empty, nor can they leave a real blessing for the heart. By his wounds and his blood, and by the spirit of his pleura and his Philadelphia, the Savior has formed and sealed the Brethren's Church, and whoever is seeking the kingdom of the cross, to him we say, 'Here it is!' Therefore, we believe that all those who are born out of the pleura, and, therefore, are children of God, will love us and appreciate our doctrine of the Lamb."

It was at this meeting that Henry Antes was appointed Consenior Civilis. Because he was an officer of the Province he was given charge of the political affairs of the congregation.

Amid such surroundings and under such influences John Henry Antes was educated. He passed the plastic days of his youth under the fostering care of the great Moravian leaders, and of many who later, during the Indian troubles, gave their lives for the faith. There was the constant stimulus of heroic deeds related by those who went forth on missionary tours and returned to rest and regain their strength in the peaceful courts of the choir houses.

In the 'Life of Henry Antes," I have written as follows: "Having thus far traced the course of the life of this prominent man, we have found him to be endowed with such faculties as well fitted him for an adviser and a leader of the people. With a great heart, loving his friends intensely, but his Lord and Savior more, ready to make any amount of personal sacrifice in order to serve his Master and his fellow men, and in the midst of all manner of opportunities for self aggrandizement, keeping himself unspotted from the world. As we see him the loving companion of Spangenberg, of Nitschman, of Zeisberger, men of purest character and indisputable zeal for the Lord, we naturally think that nothing but death could sever such strong and reciprocated ties, and yet, strange as it may seem, there was a severance of the ties that bound them—not the ties of friendship—but the ties of fellowship in the work of the Lord. And the severance was sharp, emphatic and irreversible. It sorely grieved the hearts of all parties, and yet, for conscience sake, Antes felt that he could not return to the fold he had done so much to establish. He allowed his children to follow the dictates of their own consciences. Some of them remained with the Moravians, and some went to the Reformed Church."

The account of the separation from the Brethren is very short. It is this: "In April, 1750, the Moravians at Bethlehem introduced the wearing of the white robe or surplice by the Minister at the celebration of the Eucharist. Henry Antes disapproved of this, and withdrew from their communion."

Taking into consideration the zeal and practical common sense of Henry Antes, this statement has not been satisfactory in accounting for such a vital action on his part. But we are no longer in the dark about the matter, which is clearly explained by Rev. Levin Theodore Reichel in his "Early History of the Moravians in America." We give his account in full.

"Brother Spangenberg, to whom was entrusted all the affairs of the Brethren in America, though able to accomplish a great deal and always willing to perform any kind of work, gradually became convinced that without an able and efficient assistant he could not do justice to the multifarious demands on his time and strength, and therefore, in 1745, urgently desired that his brethren in Europe might send him an assistant. Even before his letters arrived, the Synod of the Brethren assembled at Zeist, in Holland, in May, 1746, had appointed Brother John Christian Frederick Cammerhof for this office, who arrived in Pennsylvania January, 1747, and labored there four years. By his influence considerable changes were brought about both in the spirit of the congregation and in the external arrangements.

"Schrautenbach characterizes him as a young man of amiable and affable disposition, well versed in the metaphysical and ecclesiastical sciences, of much spirit, great courage and untiring energy in the service of the Savior and the Brethren's Church. He was born on July 28, 1721, near Magdeburg, and studied theology in the University of Jena, where he became acquainted with the Brethren and especially with Brother John Nitschman, afterwards his colleague at Bethlehem. He became teacher in Kloster Bergen, a Protestant school under the direction of Abt Steinmetz, who highly esteemed him and his fellow student, Theopolis Shumann. Acquainted with the pietistic method of edification, and not finding therein peace for their souls, Cammerhof and Shumann left the ranks of the Lutheran Church and went in 1743 to Marienborn, where they were received into the

Seminary of the Brethren, and for a time assisted in transcribing missionary reports, under the immediate superintendence of Count Zinzendorf.

“ Brother Cammerhof having been married in July, 1746, to Anna de Pahlen, a Livonian baroness, was consecrated in London September, 1746, by Zinzendorf, Martin Dober and Steinhof as Bishop of the Brethrens’ Church for the country congregations of North America. Soon after his arrival in Pennsylvania he commenced his epistolary correspondence with the directing Board of the Unity in Europe, which probably has never been carried on with such minuteness, for some of these letters, of which copies have been preserved for the Bethlehem archives, contain more than a hundred closely written pages, giving a full insight into the work of the Brethren, even to its most minute details. From these letters of the youthful Bishop it appears plainly that the enthusiastic love for the Savior which was cherished by Cammerhof and that band of disciples with whom he was associated bordered on fanaticism. He had left the new settlements of the Brethren in Wetteravia at a time when the most sober-minded brethren began to talk sentimental nonsense, and the whole church was in imminent peril of being led away from the substance of the Gospel by a puerile and often silly mode of expression, and of embracing fatal delusions. For more than a century the Brethrens’ Church has acknowledged that this was the period of sifting, the time in which much chaff was separated from the wheat, the time in which much wood, hay and stubble was built on that foundation than which no other can be laid—a superstructure which but a few years later was consumed in that fiery persecution by which Herrnhag, the most numerous of all the congregations, was scattered to the winds. We would not revert to these times at all if the assertions made now and then, that these delusions had not found their way to America, were perfectly correct. Bishop Cammerhof introduced them, fostered them, and was praised for it. With his death all vestiges of these delusions ceased at once.”

And wherein did these delusions consist? Bishop Holmes gives the following concise and sufficient answer: “ In their zeal to root out self-righteousness, the Brethren were not suffi-

ciently on their guard against levity in expression. The delight they took in speaking of the sufferings of Christ, which arose from the penetrating sense they had of their infinite value, by degrees degenerated into fanciful representations of the various scenes of His passion. Their style in speaking and writing lost its former plainness and simplicity and became turgid, puerile and fanatical, abounding in playful allusions to Christ as the Lamb, the Bridegroom, &c., by which he is described in Holy Writ, and in fanciful representations of the wound in His side. In describing the spiritual relation between Christ and His Church the highly figurative language of the Canticles was substituted in the place of the dignified simplicity used by our Savior and His Apostles when speaking on this subject. Some less experienced preachers even seemed to vie with each other in introducing into their discourses the most extravagant and often wholly unintelligible expressions. This kept the hearers in a state of constant excitement, but was not calculated to subject every thought of the heart to the obedience of Christ. Religion, instead of enlightening the understanding, governing the affections and regulating the general conduct, became a play of the imagination.

“ This species of fanaticism first broke out at Herrnhaag in the year 1746, and from thence spread into several other congregations. Many were carried away by it, for it seemed to promise a certain joyous perfection, representing believers as innocent, playful children, who might be quite at their ease amidst all the trials and difficulties incident to the present life. The effect produced was such as might be expected. The more serious members of the Church (and these after all formed the major part) bitterly lamented an evil which they could not eradicate. Others, considering the malady as incurable, withdrew from its communion. The behavior of such as were most infected with this error, though not immoral and criminal, was yet highly disgraceful to their Christian profession.

“ Pictorial representations of the sufferings of Christ, illuminations of the church and other public buildings, birthday celebrations, connected with expensive love-feasts, were manifestations of the unnaturally excited poetic spirit of the congregation,

which in its practical consequences led to extravagances—and to debts. Peter Bohler, at the time in England as superintendent of the monetary affairs of the Church there, was fully aware of the fearful increase of their liabilities, and raised a warning voice, but his protest was not heeded. Neither was any attention paid to the wise counsels of Spangenberg, who in a letter to Count Zinzendorf, in 1746, expressed his forebodings in reference to the lavish expenditures in the European settlements and their inevitable consequences. This letter was not answered, and Spangenberg, the most faithful and indefatigable of all the brethren, had reason to suppose that some of the most influential of his brethren in Europe looked upon him with a suspicious eye, considering him as having become lukewarm because he, the man of good common sense, could not appreciate their extravagant religious notions, nor approve of the sentimental nonsense, which in a flood of hymns was pouring over to America also. He rejoiced to receive in Cammerhof a faithful and able assistant, but was inwardly grieved when he perceived that the latter had received secret instructions according to which he acted in such a manner that the original idea of Zinzendorf of a Church of God in the Spirit was gradually but entirely set aside."

It can easily be seen how these extravagances would affect the practical man of affairs, Antes. There would be toleration and hope of change for awhile, then, as constant friction would take place between him, as Consenior Civilis, and the Bishop, he would lose the spirit of toleration and act with firmness and decision. There can be no doubt but that this change affected the entire future career of his three oldest sons. They left the Moravian fold and became men of affairs in the Commonwealth. They were by nature leaders of men, and all through their lives they were thus recognized by their fellows. If this breach had not occurred, they might have become preachers of the Gospel; as it was, they became patriots, and foundation stones in the constitutional edifice of Pennsylvania.

In a conversation with Bishop Levering, of the Moravian Church, I learned the following particulars relative to the separation of Henry Antes from the Moravians. Bishop Levering

has spent much time in searching the records of the Church and formed his opinions from what was therein recorded. He said that there was not much recorded about Henry Antes because he was averse to speaking about himself. He did not approve of the laudatory mention so often made by the various members of the Brotherhood and for himself declined to thus win renown. Also, the records at the time of the trouble say little about him, because those in authority were not disposed to recite his views about their conduct. Yet the fact was that Antes was the leading man among them, and that whenever they got in a tight place they trusted to him to get them out. He never separated himself from the Moravians, but simply retired from an official position. Until the time of his death he was frequently called to Bethlehem on consultation concerning important matters, and nothing of importance was undertaken until he had been consulted. Bohler was not the business head, but was the agent engaged by Whitefield to build houses on his property. Immediately after the breach, John Nitschmann, the leader in it, was recalled to Europe, and Spangenberg returned to take charge of the affairs at Bethlehem. He and Antes were inseparable companions. In the midst of the trouble Antes wrote a letter in explanation to Zinzendorf that was expected to set matters straight, but no answer ever came, and this led to the conclusion that the letter had been intercepted and prevented from reaching Zinzendorf, for Zinzendorf reposed the greatest confidence in Antes, and would have been influenced by what he had written. Cammerhof was very friendly to Antes, and valued him highly, and would have done nothing to cause a breach, although he was one of the most ardent of those who used the objectionable figures of speech. It was John Nitschmann that was the cause of the trouble, and he remained unyielding in his determination to effect changes in the method of doing things pertaining to the Economy of the Brethren. The final parting was under exceedingly pathetic circumstances, and reflects great credit on the beautiful character of Antes.

Antes had frequently expostulated against the wrong course that was being pursued, and as his words had no effect, determined to remove from Bethlehem to his own home. He waited

until he had completed building the mill at Freidensthal, and some other operations that had been begun, then came to Bethlehem and placed his household goods on the wagon drawn by his oxen. Then, while the oxen were waiting, he called to Nitschmann to come out of the house and bid him farewell. But Nitschmann would not even come to the door. Antes begged that he would only promise to cease using certain words in his speech and only a slight change in the vestments at the celebration of the service, and he would unpack his goods, and all would be well again. But Nitschmann would make no concession, nor would he even see Antes. Antes stood by the heads of his oxen and began to weep in uncontrollable emotion, but neither his words nor his tears moved Nitschmann. Then, with the brethren about him weeping and lamenting, Antes gave the word and the oxen were started on the journey to his home. As he turned from the house in which Nitschmann remained, Cammerhof, weeping with Antes, accompanied him part of the way on the journey, and finally, mingling their tears, they parted. However, the love that was mutual caused them to be often together. The children of Antes were allowed to remain or go home as they pleased, and while the boys went home the girls remained. They were not separated, however, for the frequent visits of the parents to Bethlehem kept them in close touch with each other. At the time of the separation Benigna was only two years old; when twelve years of age she died a victim to smallpox, that scourge that carried away so many of the people of the frontier.



Zeisberger Preaching to the Indians.

CHAPTER V.

THE WORK OF THE MORAVIANS AMONG THE INDIANS.

IN ONE respect the leaders of the Moravians were of equal devotion, that was in the work for the conversion of the wild and savage Indians. Whatever vagaries they manifested when in their meeting houses, or before their fellow missionaries, they were ready at all times to endure any form of suffering if only they might be able to persuade some benighted savage to seek the cleansing blood of the Lamb of God.

While the Irish on the frontier treated the Indians as they would wolves or panthers, as if they had no souls and no right to pity, the Moravians looked upon them as brethren in the mercy of God, and the proper subjects for the richest displays of divine grace. In the furtherance of this work, Spangenberg, de Wattenville, Cammerhof, Brainard, Nitschmann, Rauch, Pyrleaus and Zeisberger were as one, and in heartiest union with them were Antes and Weiser. The confidence in the spiritual fellowship of Antes was manifested by their committing to his hands the matter of rendering justice to the Indians who were defrauded by the officers of the Province.

The Moravians were good bookkeepers; they recorded minutely their methods and experiences. Cammerhof was particularly careful in recording everything. We owe to this care the observation of many facts that otherwise would have been lost to sight and have made gaps in the history of their doings which the historian would ceaselessly regret. One interesting paper is a table of subjects, in their order, directing their thoughts and teachings in securing the conversion of the Indians. It throws a flood of light upon the deeply consecrated spirit of these noble men of God. It is as follows:

METHOD OF CONVERTING THE WILD INDIAN.

1. Daily walk and prayer.
2. Singing and prayer in the presence of the Indian.

3. The Lamb of God.
4. Who is He? He was slain as a sacrifice for us.
5. The depravity of man.
6. Man's Redemption.
7. The Lamb of God became a man for our good.
8. Prayer for the heathen.
9. Christ is addressed in prayer as the Creator of the world.
10. Explanations adapted to their comprehension.
11. Personal conversation when desired; but not too much of it.
12. Dwell on man's evil heart and sin of unbelief.
13. Spiritual and physical death.
14. The resurrection call out of hell and out of the earth.
15. The heart's desire for Gospel truth; and its indifference and unbelief.
16. Desire is changed into love.
17. Love is sustained by hope.
18. The Sacraments.
19. Baptism in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.
20. Explanations if called for.
21. The Son has created, redeemed and sanctified all who come to Him. That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, etc.
22. Looking for the revelation of the Trinity to the heart and mind by the Holy Ghost.
23. Prayer to Jesus, the Lamb slain as our Lord, God blessed forever, the Everlasting Father, etc. (Isa. ix. 6.)
24. The Trinity. spoken of as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Spirit.
25. The Divine Being, on whom all things depend, and to whom all things tend is Jesus, the Lamb, the Savior.

The interest which Count Zinzendorf took in the Indians set the example to his ardent followers. After the meeting of the Conference in which Antes was appointed to see about the wrongs done the Indians, Zinzendorf determined on a tour to the haunts of the red men. Following is the account of it:

At 6 P. M. of the 24th of July, Count Zinzendorf began his visit to the Delaware Indians still living in the Forks, and to those of the same nation living in the first valley north of the Blue Mountain. After visiting several of the Indian villages, they were about to return to Bethlehem when the Count had a presentiment that his presence was required at Conrad Weiser's in Tulpehocken. He at once prepared to obey the call. He arrived at Weiser's on the third of August. Here he met the heads and deputies of the Six Nations on their way home from the Conference in Philadelphia. With these the Count ratified a covenant of friendship in behalf of the Brethren as their representative, stipulating for permission for the latter to pass to and from, and sojourn within the domains of the great Iroquois Confederacy, not as strangers but as friends. The meeting was conducted with all the etiquette and magniloquence of Indian diplomacy, and finally a string of wampum was handed to the Count by the savages to impress him with the sincerity of their decision, and for preservation as a perpetual token of the amicable relations just established. In this transaction Zinzendorf found a solution of the mysterious necessity which had impelled him to turn to Tulpehocken; and he recognized a special providence as having guided him thither and there opened a door for entrance among a people which, of all others, could be made most instrumental in the spread of the Gospel among the various tribes of North American Indians. On the 28th of September Zinzendorf and his companions reached Shamokin. On the 30th they set out for Otstonwakin. They followed the warrior's path which led to Great Island, which skirted the northern bank of the river some forty miles to Otstonwakin, and then went due east about seventy miles to the Shawanese village on the Wyoming flats west of the Susquehanna.

Zinzendorf failed to impress the Shawanese as he desired, but from this time the Gospel was carried to the mixed population of Indians scattered along both branches of the Susquehanna at Shamokin, Otstonwakin, Quenischachschaky, (Linden) Long Island, (Jersey Shore) Great Island, Nescopee, Wyoming and Diahoga.

His experience with the Shawanese reveals the treacherous

nature of that tribe. Having arrived on the banks of the Wyoming, the Indians could not believe that he had come solely for their benefit, but had come to the conclusion that his real object was the acquisition of land; and they therefore resolved to put him to death. On a cool evening in September, as he sat alone in his tent upon a bundle of weeds, which was his bed, the appointed assassins approached his frail mansion. He had a small fire and was writing at the time; and nothing prevented the easy execution of their commission. A blanket suspended by the corners formed the door of his tent, and as the Indians drew this a little aside they beheld a large rattlesnake which the fire had driven from his cover lying near the venerable man, but not seen by him, being too deeply engaged in his subject to notice it or the more dangerous Indians. The rattlesnake being an animal they feared and respected as a kind of manitou, and seeing it in company with the stranger, they doubted not of his divine origin also, and shrunk from their object and returned to report what they had seen to their brethren in the village.

Zinzendorf's reception by the savages was unfriendly, although from the first their visits were frequent. Painted with red and black, each with a large knife in his hand, they came in crowds about the tent again and again. He shared everything with them. The clothes on his back were not spared. One shirt button after another was given away, until all were gone, and likewise his shoe buckles, so that he was obliged to fasten his underclothes and tie his shoes with strings made of bast. The Shawanese chief turned a deaf ear to the proposition of the Count, and became vehement. Then Zinzendorf produced the string of wampum that the Sachems of the Six Nations had given him, but even its authoritative presence failed to move the savages in their determination or to mollify their murderous intentions.

In 1753 Spangenberg recorded in his notes, "Zinzendorf told me last evening, to my great joy, that on examining his notes and memoranda (which he is in the habit of consulting after the manner of the old prophets, who, according to Peter, search what or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which is in them did signify) he had ascertained how we were to act with regard to the Shawanese. As to those of the tribe who were

residing at Skehandowana at the time of his sojourn there he stated that the Savior had told him it would be useless for us to attempt to affect anything with them, as they were treacherous and cruel and totally averse to the reception of Christianity. As to the rest of the tribe, he stated that from an intimation the Savior had given him at the time of his stay in Wyoming, he was inclined to believe that they would become an admirable people on their conversion, and that our efforts on their behalf would not be in vain. Furthermore, he observed that the promise the Savior had made him to effect the removal of the Shawanese, among whom his life had been in danger, was going into fulfillment; that the lot he had cast and which had warned him of the Shawanese did not apply to that part of the tribe with which he had lately been negotiating, and finally that the Savior had made this decision."

Letter from Conrad Weiser to Rauch, the Missionary:

"I shall be very happy to hear that these lines have found you in Shecomeco well and happy. I am very sorry that I did not meet you on my recent visit to Shecomeco. I presume your bodily weakness prevented your being there at that time. My stay there, to me, was most agreeable, and I left with very delightful impressions. The faith of the Indians in the Lord Jesus Christ; their simple and straightforward manner; the deep feeling wrought in their hearts by the blood of Jesus, and by the word of His grace, which you preach to them, affected me deeply, and convinced me that God is with you of a truth.

"It seemed to me as though I saw before me a flock like that of the early Christians. Their old men sat on benches, or, for want of room, on the ground, and listened with grave and solemn devotion to the words of Brother Pyrlæus, as though they would drink them in as they were flowing from his heart. John (once called Tchoop, or Job) was his interpreter, and did his part admirably. I consider him a man whom God has anointed with spirit and with power. I do not understand the Mohican language perfectly, but I can comprehend their ideas, as they are indicated by their peculiar mode of delivery, as well as any European in the country. In short, I consider it one of greatest privileges and mercies of my life that I have been at Shecomeco. The words, Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day and forever,

came to my soul with new life and power, as I saw, seated before me, these patriarches of the Aboriginal American Church, being so many witnesses of the sin-atonement sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ. May their prayers go up as a memorial before God; and may Heaven defend them against their enemies.

“That God Almighty may give you and your brethren an open door to the poor heathen is the heartfelt wish of your humble and sincere friend,

CONRAD WEISER.

A striking instance of the success of the Moravians in influencing Indian character is seen in the history of Michael.

In the year 1742 a veteran warrior of the Lenape nation and Monsey tribe, renowned among his own people for his bravery and prowess, and equally dreaded by their enemies, joined the Christian Indians at Bethlehem. This man, who was then at an advanced age, had a most striking appearance, and could not be viewed without astonishment. Besides that, his body was full of scars where he had been struck and pierced by the arrows of the enemy. There was not a spot to be seen on that part of it which was exposed to view but what was tattooed over with some drawing relative to his achievements, so that the whole together struck the beholder with amazement and terror. On his whole face, neck, shoulders, arms, thighs and legs, as well as on his breast and back, were represented scenes of the various actions and engagements he had been in; in short, the whole of his history was there deposited, which was well known to those of his nation, and was such that all who heard it thought that it could never be surpassed by man. Far from murdering those who were defenceless or unarmed, his generosity, as well as his courage and skill in the art of war, was acknowledged by all. When, after his conversion, he was questioned about his warlike feats, he frankly and modestly answered, that being now taken captive by Jesus Christ, it did not become him to relate the deeds he had done while in the service of the evil spirit, but that he was willing to give an account of the manner in which he had been conquered. At his baptism, on the 23rd of December, 1742, he received the name of Michael, which he preserved until his death, which happened July 24th, 1756, when he was about eighty years of age.

Individual instances may well portray the success of the

Moravians in winning the Indians to the service of Christ, but their greater triumph is in the moulding of entire communities, an instance of which we see in the story of their Mission in the State of New York.

"The Indians now have eleven winter houses. Several more are to be built, and it is very likely that all our people in Waichquathnack will remove hither. We live on a mountain and they in a valley. When Waichquathnackian people will have returned home from their hunt several of them will be baptized. There are some excellent souls among them, the fruits of Brother Isaac's preaching. This Indian brother is a great witness for Christ. Wherever he goes he testifies with power and effect of the blood of Christ. The blessed Savior has, during the past five weeks, done great things for him. He is becoming more and more sedate and correct in all his ways. The two most useful converts in Waichquathnack were, formerly, among the foremost officers of the devil. There were no worse Indians in the tribe than they. But now, since they have been apprehended of Christ, they are like lambs, and when we shall have immersed them into the blood of the Lamb they will, no doubt, prove to be true Lambs of Christ's flock. It is remarkable that the worst and wildest of these Indian savages are among the first converts. Oh, how wretched and abominable do those (whites) appear before Christ, who are good and righteous in their own eyes. At our next baptism there will be, I think, eight or more candidates who have hitherto stood in the foremost ranks of ungodly sinners. I look forward to that occasion with great joy. The grace which has bestowed upon these wild savages is most remarkable. And we, the Lord's poor children, sit by and behold what the Lord is doing, and rejoice over it all with exceeding great joy.

"Dear brother, when I look upon our heathen brethren and remember what they were, and what they now are, I am overwhelmed with humble joy. It is impossible to describe the fervency of Abraham, the brotherly affection of Jacob, the zeal of Isaac, the contrite spirit of Joshua, the spiritual gifts of John, the willingness to labor, and the devotedness to Christ of Jonathan, the earnestness and inspiration of Sarah, the meekness of

Esther and the childlike simplicity of Rebecca. To the Lamb be all the glory! even so! Everlasting thanks for the blood which sheds forth its power into every soul that draws near to Christ. All our other members are doing well. They are humble in heart and living in the full enjoyment of the grace of God, but those souls that are named above are certainly miracles of grace.

"You have seen them and you know them well; but, my dear brother, when you will meet Abraham in New York you will rejoice over him anew, for the grace of God is working mightily among his people, and it will not be long before this congregation of Indians will, in all respects, resemble an Apostolical Church.

"My well-beloved brother Mack and myself have just had a long and close conversation with our Indian brother Jonathan. He is as tame and affectionate as a lamb. We were filled with astonishment when he told us how he had felt ever since his baptism. We were amazed at the great change which has taken place in him. I wish that all the single brethren in our home churches could have heard him speak. Many a one would have learned a good lesson from the words which fell from the lips of this wild Indian."

At the Unity Conference at Oley, in 1742, Christian Henry Rauch was ordained to be a Missionary among the Indians between Esopus and Albany; Gottlob Buttner as a Missionary among the Six Nations, and J. Christopher Pyrlaeus as Minister of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia. After this act, preparations were made for the baptism of three converted Indians who had come with the Missionary, Brother Rauch, from Shecomeco. The whole assembly, being met in a barn belonging to Mr. de Turk, the three catechumens were placed in the midst, and with fervent prayer and supplication were devoted to the Lord Jesus Christ, as His eternal property, upon which Brother Rauch, with great emotion of heart, baptized these first fruits of the North American Indians into the death of Jesus, calling Shabash, Abraham, Seim, Isaac and Kiop, Jacob. The Tunker brethren were present at this transaction, though the baptism was performed by sprinkling. These Indians are the persons referred to in the above statement.

CHAPTER VI.

PERSECUTION OF THE INDIANS.

IN DOING the work of their Divine Master, the Moravians were often misunderstood and incurred the hatred of those among the settlers who entirely lacked the love of humanity. This latter class perpetrated the most horrible cruelties upon innocent men, and made no distinction on account of character, but judged according to the color of the skin. The beginning of these atrocities was immediately following the defeat of General Braddock, which brought a desolating storm of savage warfare upon the whole frontier. Many white settlements near the Blue Mountain were cut off, and even the poor brethren and Indians at Gnadenhutten did not escape. The Moravians and their Indian converts were in danger between two fires. The hostile Indians were burning and ravaging their villages on the Lehigh. On the other hand the Irish on the Kittatinny Valley viewed with jealousy, not without some reason, the asylum afforded to hostile parties of Indians at the Christian Indian villages as they passed back and forth through the country. It was charged, too, against the Brethren, that they would not take up arms in defense of the colony; and falsely charged, moreover, that they were actually in league with the French. It was difficult to convince men, excited and exasperated by the murder of their families, that these charges were without foundation. They openly threatened to exterminate the Indian converts, and it was dangerous for the friendly Indians to even hunt in the woods. The missionaries themselves were insulted and abused. Under these circumstances the affrighted Indians, whose towns had been burnt, took refuge at Bethlehem.

The Moravian establishments were a great obstacle to the designs of the hostile Indians, since they could not persuade the friendly Indians to destroy the missionary towns. Sometimes well disposed Indians, hearing of a plot against them by the war-

rriors, would travel all night to warn the Brethren. And thus their schemes were defeated. Great numbers of the distressed white settlers took refuge in the Moravian settlements. Hundreds of women and children came, even from distant places, crying and begging for shelter; some almost destitute, having left their all and fled in the night. Some Brethren, going with wagons to fetch corn from the mill beyond the Blue Mountain, were met by a great number of white people in distress, the savages having attacked their towns, murdered many, and set fire to their dwellings. The Brethren loaded their wagons with these people. Bethlehem, Nazareth, Friedensthal, Christianbrun and the Rose were considered at this time asylums for all as long as there was room; and the empty school houses and mills were allotted them for residence.

In January, 1757, public service began to be performed at Bethlehem in the Indian language, the liturgy being translated into Mohican by the missionary, Jacob Schmick. Several parts of the scriptures and many hymns were also translated into the Delaware language for the use of the church and schools. The children frequently came together and sang praises in German, Mohican and Delaware hymns.

In 1763 the frontiers were again overrun by the scalping parties of the western Indians during Pontiac's war. Some of these parties occasionally skulked about the Moravian towns, and this circumstance, together with the simultaneous massacre of the Stinton family and several other Irish settlements, revived the old jealousies between the Irish settlers of the Kittitunny Valley and the Moravian brethren. The events of that day which occurred in the neighborhood of Bethlehem, have an intimate relation to the causes of the massacre of the Conestoga Indians at Lancaster by the Paxton men.

The Irish declared that if any Indians dared to show themselves in the woods they would be shot dead immediately; and that if only one more white man be murdered in this neighborhood, the whole Irish settlement would rise in arms and kill all the inhabitants of Wequetank without waiting for an order from the government, or an order from a justice of the peace. The Indians at Wequetank were obliged to quit the place and take refuge at Nazareth. The same threatening messages were sent

to Nain. The day after the murder of the Stinton family, October 9th, about fifty white men assembled on the opposite side of the Lehigh, with a view to surprise Nain in the night and murder all the inhabitants. But a neighboring friend represented the danger and difficulty of such an attempt in strong terms, the enemy forsook their intentions, and returned home. The Brethren praised God for this very merciful preservation. Still, the congregation at Nain was blockaded on all sides. The murders of the New England people at Wyoming increased the fury of the white people. The inhabitants of Nain ventured no longer to go to Bethlehem on business. No Indian ventured to fetch wood or to look after his cattle without a white brother to accompany him or a passport in his pocket. November 8th the Moravian Indians were ordered to Philadelphia for protection. Wequetank was burned by the white people, and in the night of November 18th, some incendiaries endeavored to set fire to Bethlehem. The oil mill was consumed and the fury of the flames was such that the adjoining water works were with difficulty saved. Peace was concluded with the hostile Indians in 1764, when the Moravian Indians returned in safety to Bethlehem, Nain and Wyalusing.

After the slaughter of the white people at Gnadenhutten, two or three bodies of the slain were brought to Philadelphia in a wagon, and after being hauled about the city, were placed at the door of the State House by the Dutch, who thus determined to arouse public sentiment in regard to the dangers those on the frontier were experiencing. Crowds of people followed the bodies, shouting curses at the Indians and at the Quakers, "cursing their principles and bidding the committee of assembly behold the fruits of their obstinacy, and confess that their pretended sanctity would not save the province without the use of means, at the same time threatening that if they should come down on a like errand again and find nothing done for their protection, the consequence should be fatal."

Nathaniel Grubb, member of the assembly, and a prominent character among them, was sent into the interior to learn the truth respecting the ravages complained of; he is reported to have said that those killed by the Indians were only some Scotch-Irish who

could well enough be spared; and such it was further reported was the common language of many of that sect.

The appointment of the commission was to appease the wrath of the Dutch mob.

This reference shows the spirit which the various nationalities held toward each other. The peaceable Quakers, well protected in the towns, giving themselves to merchandise; the Dutch cultivating the farms on the borders of the forests, and subject to the perils from wild beasts and wild men, and needing protection by those who had the making and the execution of the laws; and the Irish, who were as a law unto themselves, going into the forests and welcoming the opportunity to drop a red man as they would drop a wolf, asking no favors and granting none; the Indians learning the habits and characteristics of each and diplomatically trying to meet each on his own ground.

The feeling on the frontier against the Indians because of the destruction their marauding bands had perpetrated found its counterpart when the white men threw all discrimination aside and looked upon every red man as the mortal enemy of the white race. The Scotch-Irish settlers in Paxton and Donegal townships, Lancaster county, known as the Paxton Boys, refused to believe the assertions that some of the Indians were loyal to the white men and suspected them all to be in league with the hostile tribes of the West. They, therefore, determined to massacre every Indian within their reach. There was living by special right on Conestoga manor, Lancaster county, the few survivors of the ancient tribe of the Susquehannocks. They had nothing to do with the troubles on the frontier, and were living in the most peaceful relations with the white people. The men had gone from their homes for the day, when the Paxton Boys rushed upon the little settlement and most inhumanly massacred all of the women and children of the tribe. When the men of the tribe were apprised of the fate of their families they went to Lancaster and sought safety in the only fortified building there, the jail. The magistrates were willing to do all in their power to protect them, knowing that they were innocent of any wrong doing. The morning of the Sabbath dawned. In those days Sabbath observance was considered a virtue by all the people, particularly those on the frontier. In Lancaster the people, accord-

ing to custom, had assembled in their places for worship and had dismissed all thoughts of danger to the Indians from their minds. But the Paxton Boys had concealed themselves near the town until the services had begun, then they rode into the town on a gallop, seized and bound the keeper of the work-house, and opened the prison and cruelly slaughtered the fourteen Indians there. Then they galloped from the town with the same haste they had come.

The alarm was given and the people assembled to save the Indians, but they were too late. The Indians were dead, and the murderers were beyond the reach of pursuers. Threats were made that all the Moravian Indians would be served the same way. To save these from destruction they were hurriedly sent to Philadelphia, where they were placed in the heart of the city in the Old Court House and the Friends' Meeting House, and these were surrounded by a British regiment of foot soldiers and their position defended by artillery. The Indians were then taken to Province Island in the Delaware for better security. The Quakers were greatly excited, and determined to fully protect the Christian Indians. Business was suspended, the schools were dismissed and the children sent home. The citizens girded on their weapons of war, and prepared to meet the invasion of the Paxton Boys. Wild rumor spread reports of the numbers and strength of the aroused men of Lancaster county, and no one knew what the end might be. But in the trial of courage the Quakers never faltered. It was wrong to fight, but they were not going to permit the killing of innocent Indians. When the Paxton Boys had advanced as far as Germantown, a deputation headed by Franklin met them and argued the matter with them, and finally persuaded them to give up their designs and return to their homes. Only when the invaders had disbanded did business resume its normal condition and peace once more possess the hearts of the Quakers and their companions who believed in the Christian character of the Moravian Indians.

The story of the trials and sufferings of the Indians who became Christians under the teachings of the Moravians is exceedingly pathetic, and a record of the shame and cruelty of the whites that will ever disgrace them on the pages of history. It is written by those who knew about it, and whose veracity is un-

questionable. Sherman Day, in "Historical Collections of Pennsylvania," says:

"Before the men of Connecticut had asserted their claim to the fair fields of Bradford county, the Holy Pioneers of the Moravian Mission had penetrated the wilderness along the Susquehanna and made settlements at various points. As early as 1750, Bishop Cammerhof and Rev. David Zeisberger, guided by an Indian of the Cayuga tribe, passed up the Susquehanna on a visit to Onondaga. To each night's encampment they gave a name, the first letter of which was cut into a tree by an Indian. They tarried at Tioga, which is described as a considerable Indian town. The same year, it is said, there was a great awakening which extended over the whole Indian country, especially on the Susquehanna. There appears to have been an Indian village in 1759 at Machwihilusing, where one Papenhunk, an Indian moralist, had been zealously propagating his doctrines; with little success, however, for his hearers were addicted to the most abominable vices, and he himself was but little better. On a visit to the missionary station, Nain, on the Lehigh, he heard for the first time the great doctrine of the Cross, and such an impression did it make upon him that the following year he took down his wife and thirty-three of his followers to hear this new doctrine, at the same time endeavoring without success to persuade the Christian Indians of Nain to remove to the Susquehanna.

"In May, 1763, Zeisberger, with the Indian brother Anthony, came to Wyalusing, having heard of a remarkable awakening there, and that the Indians desired some one who could point them to the true way of obtaining rest and peace in their consciences. Papenhunk had lost his credit by the inefficiency of his doctrines. Zeisberger was met, before he arrived, by Joe Gilloway, an inhabitant of Wyalusing, who spoke English well, and told him that their council had met six days successively to consider how they might procure a teacher of the truth. Zeisberger was invited to become a resident missionary among them, which, after a visit to Bethlehem, he consented to do. It appears that about this time some well meaning people of a different persuasion arrived at Wyalusing, but the Indians having already given a preference to the Moravians would listen to no other sect. The

first fruit of Zeisberger's pious efforts in his new congregation was Papenhunk himself, who confessed his sins and desired to be baptized. He received the Christian name of John, and another Indian, who had been Papenhunk's opponent, was baptized after him and called Peter.

"In the midst of these encouraging prospects consternation spread through the frontier settlements on receipt of the news of the Indian war of 1763, which had just broken out along the lakes and the Ohio. Occasional parties of Indians from the West skulked into the Moravian Indian settlements to persuade them to withdraw that they might make a descent upon the whites. This became known to the Irish settlements in the Kit-tinny valley, whose jealousy was aroused that the Moravian Indians were in collusion with their hostile brethren, and the missionary settlements were thus placed between two fires. This animosity of the Irish at length wreaked itself upon the poor Indians on the Conestoga; and the other Christian Indians were taken by the missionaries to Philadelphia for protection. Peace at length arrived at the close of 1764, and in 1765 the whole body of Indian brethren returned to the deserted huts at Wyalusing. Devoting themselves anew to Him who had given them rest for the soles of their feet, they began their labors with renewed courage, and pitching upon a convenient spot on the banks of the Susquehanna, a few miles below Wyalusing, they built a regular settlement which they called Frieden-shuetten (tents of peace). It consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty frame houses, shingled and provided with chimneys and windows. A convenient house was erected for the missionaries, and in the middle of the broad street stood the chapel neatly built and covered with shingles. Gardens surrounded the village, and near the river about two hundred and fifty acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. Each family had their own boat. The burying ground was at some distance in the rear. During the progress of building the town the aged, infirm and children lodged in the old cottages found on the spot; the rest in bark huts. In fine weather they lifted up their voices in prayer and praise under the open firmament. It was a pleasure to observe them like a swarm of bees at their work; some were building, some clearing land, some hunting and fishing to provide

for the others, and some cared for housekeeping. The town being completed, the usual regulations and statutes of the Moravian stations were adopted; order and peace prevailed, and the good work went gloriously on. As one of the great confederacy of the Six Nations, the Cayugas kept the door of the Long House, which opened upon the valley of the Susquehanna, and it became necessary for the missionaries to seek their permission to reside within their jurisdiction. With all the solemnity of Indian diplomacy the Christian Indians gave notice to the chief of the Cayugas that they had settled on the Susquehanna, where they intended to live and be at peace with their families if their Uncle approved of it; and they likewise desired leave for their teachers to live with them. The chief, after consultation with the great council of Onondaga, replied, in a friendly manner, that the place they had chosen was not proper, all that country having been stained with blood; therefore he would take them up and place them in a better situation near the upper end of Cayuga lake. They might take their teachers with them and be unmolested in their worship. This proposal did not exactly suit the Indians of Friedenshutten and they evaded an acquiescence, giving the chief hopes that they would reply when the Indian corn was ripe. This was in the summer of 1765. After waiting until the spring of 1766, the Cayuga chief sent a message to Friedenshutten that he did not know what sort of Indian corn they might plant, for they had promised him an answer when it was ripe; that his corn had been gathered long ago, and was almost consumed, and he soon intended to plant again. The chief, ultimately, and the council, gave them a larger tract of land than they had desired, extending beyond Tioga, to make use of as their own, with a promise that the heathen Indians should not come and dwell upon it. This grant, however, was forgotten at the Treaty of 1768, when the whole country on the Susquehanna was sold to Pennsylvania."

The peace of the settlement was often disturbed by the introduction of rum, that universal accompaniment of civilization, introduced by straggling Indians. They ordered, at length, that every rum bottle should be locked up during the stay of its owner, and delivered to him on his departure. The white traders from the Irish settlement at Paxton found the settlement a most

convenient depot, and endeavored to make it a place of common resort in 1766. They stayed several weeks in the place and occasioned much levity and dissipation among the young people. The Indians at length ordered them off, desiring that the Tents of Peace should not be made a place of traffic. The hospitality of the Brethren often exhausted their little stock of provisions, and their only resource for a new supply was in hunting, or seeking aid from the older settlements. Their numbers had increased so much in 1767 that a more spacious church was erected. The locusts, which swarmed by millions, did great damage to their crops. The smallpox broke out among them in 1767, and the patients were prudently removed to temporary cabins on the opposite side of the river. The station at Friedenshutzen continued to prosper until the year 1772. During this period the persevering Zeisberger had several times threaded the wilderness to the waters of the Allegheny and the Ohio, and planted new churches among the Delawares dwelling there.

About a mile from Sheshequin, the savages used at stated times to keep their feasts of sacrifice. (This was thirty miles above Friedenshutzen). On these occasions they roved about in the neighborhood like so many evil spirits, making the air resound with their hideous noises and bellowings, but they never approached near enough to molest the Brethren. Brother Rothe had the pleasure to see many proofs of the power of the word of God, and it appeared for some time as if all the people about Sheshequin would turn to the Lord. Some time after an enmity began to show itself; some said openly, "We cannot live according to the precepts of the Brethren; if God had intended us to live like them, we should have certainly have been born amongst them." Nevertheless, James Davis, a chief, and several others were baptized. The missionaries lost no opportunity of conciliating the chiefs of the Iroquois, and often invited them to dine as they passed through the settlement. These little attentions made a favorable impression and enabled the missionaries, in familiar conversation, to remove misapprehensions and allay unfounded impressions which had been entertained by the chiefs against them. These chiefs noticed everything that passed in the village, and looked with no little suspicion upon the surveying instruments used at the settlement, regarding them as some mysterious con-

trivance to obtain the land from the Indians. The paintings in the church of the crucifixion and the scene at the Mount of Olives attracted their admiration, and enabled the Brethren to explain to them the history of our Lord, which produced in some a salutary thoughtfulness. In 1771 there was an immense flood in the Susquehanna, and all the inhabitants at Sheshequin were obliged to save themselves in boats and retire to the woods, where they were detained four days.

The Six Nations having by the treaty of 1768 sold their land from under their feet, the Brethren were compelled to seek a new grant from the Governor of Pennsylvania, who kindly ordered that they should not be disturbed, and that he had ordered the surveyors not to take up any land within five miles of Friedenshuetten.

The Brethren had received many pressing invitations from the Delawares on the Ohio to leave the Susquehanna and the dangerous vicinity of the whites and settle among them. These invitations were declined until 1772, when the Brethren became convinced that the congregations could not maintain themselves long in these parts. The Iroquois had sold their lands and various and troublesome demands upon them were continually renewed; the contest between the Connecticut men and the Indians and the Pennamites at Wyoming had commenced, white settlers daily increased, and rum was introduced to seduce the young people. They therefore finally resolved to remove to the Ohio.

Their exodus was remarkable. To transport two hundred and forty individuals of all ages, with cattle and horses, from the North Branch across the Allegheny Mountains, by way of Bald Eagle to the Ohio, would be, even in these days of locomotive facilities, a most arduous undertaking. What must it have been through that howling wilderness? Fortunately most of the company were natives of the forest. The scene is given in the language of Loskiel, the annalist of the mission:

"June 6th, 1772. The congregation partook of the holy communion for the last time in Friedenshuetten. * * * *
June 11th. All being ready for the journey, the congregation met for the last time in F., when the missionary reminded them of the great favors and blessings received from God in this

place, and then offered up praises and thanksgivings to Him, with fervent supplications for his peace and protection on the journey. The company consisted of two hundred and forty-one persons from Sheshequin and Friedenshuetten, and proceeded with great cheerfulness in reliance upon the Lord.

“ Brother Ettwein conducted those who went by land, and Brother Rothe those by water, who were the greater number. The journey was a practical school of patience for the missionaries. The fatigue attending the emigration of a whole congregation with all their goods and cattle, in a country like North America, can hardly be conceived by any one who has not experienced it, much less can it be properly described. The land travelers had seventy head of oxen and a still greater number of horses to care for, and sustained incredible hardships in forcing a way for themselves and their beasts through very thick woods and swamps of great extent, being directed only by a small path, and that hardly discernible in some places; so that it appears almost impossible to conceive how any one could work his way and mark a path through such close thickets and immense woods, one of which he computed to be about sixty miles long. While passing through these woods it rained almost incessantly. In one part of the country they were obliged to wade thirty-six times through the windings of the river Munsey, besides suffering other hardships. However, they attended to their daily worship as regularly as circumstances would permit, and had frequently strangers among them, both Indians and white people, who were particularly attentive to the discourses delivered by Brother Ettwein, * * * * In some parts they were molested by inquisitive and in others by drunken people.”

In his diary of the trip, Bishop Ettwein says:

“ During the 8th, 9th and 10th of June, 1772, all was bustle in Friedenshuetten with preparations for the impending journey, and the pestles of the corn mortars were plied day and night. The texts of Scripture allotted for these days: ‘ I will make thee rejected unto a great people ’; ‘ I will give them to drink of the water-courses in plain paths ’; ‘ Awake! rise and awake! oh, Zion,’ were words that brought us comfort as we in faith applied them all to ourselves.

“ Thursday, June 11th. Early we met for the last time in

the town for divine worship. I remarked on the scripture portion for the day, to wit: 'They have not possessed themselves of the land by the sword'—in effect, that all our temporal and spiritual welfare depended upon the presence within us of the Lord's spirit, and of His being pleased with His people. Then we knelt in prayer and again thanked Him for the numerous blessings that had been vouchsafed to us in this spot, and for the evidences of His love and patience. Hereupon we commended ourselves to His keeping and guidance on the way, asking Him to provide all our wants, both by land and water. At the close of the service the canoes were laden; the bell was taken from its turret; the window sashes from out of the church, and the dismantled windows nailed shut with boards.

"At 2 P. M. Brother and Sister Rothe, in their canoe, set out followed by the others, thirty in number. We had divided the voyageurs in six divisions, over each of which were set one or two leaders. Timothy, who carried the bell in his canoe, rang it for some time as the squadron moved down the stream never again to ring out its call to the house of prayer over the waters of the lovely Susquehanna.

"After all had left the town, I locked the doors of the chapel and the missionaries' dwelling—took leave of Joe Chillo-way, and commended to him oversight of the houses and improvements—to which he consented, and at the same time made fair promises. He and his wife were the only two who appeared to regret our departure, as they shed tears. All the others manifested satisfaction. With Brother and Sister Rothe there went one hundred and forty souls; with me, by the overland route, fifty-four. Others also are to proceed by land from Sheshequin, so that the entire migration numbers two hundred and eleven souls.

"A short time before our departure the measles had been brought to Friedenshuetten from Sheshequin, which place had been infected by a white man. The epidemic soon appeared among the voyageurs, and a maiden of my company was taken down with them on the third day out. Our journey consumed five days, that of the voyageurs ten days, when we met at the mouth of Muncy creek.

"As we crossed the river our way led us straightway to the

mountain, and after proceeding two miles we entered the great swamp, where the undergrowth was so dense that oftentimes it was impossible to see one another at the distance of six feet. The path, too, was frequently invisible, and yet along it sixty head of cattle and fifty horses and colts had to be driven. It needed careful watch to keep them together. We lost but one young cow from the entire herd. Every morning, however, it was necessary to send drivers back as far as ten miles to whip in such as would, during the night, seek to return.

“At our first night’s encampment two of our brethren lost themselves while in search of straying cattle, and several hours elapsed before we could reach them by signal guns and shouts. It was daily a matter of astonishment to me that any man should presume to traverse this swamp and follow what he called a path. It is at least sixty miles in diameter, but not as rocky and hilly as the swamp between Bethlehem and Friedenshuetten. However, on the highland, for the distance of about eight miles, where the Loyalsock and the Muncy creek head, it is excessively rocky and almost impassable. There were indications of abundance of ores here. It might be called with propriety Ore Mountains. The timber is principally sugar maple, tall lindens, ash, oak and white pine. What told on me the most was that several days it rained incessantly as we penetrated the woods, so that I was wet from head to foot all day. The path led thirty-six times across Muncy creek. At intervals there were exceedingly rich bottom lands and the noblest timber I have seen in America, excepting the cypresses in South Carolina and Georgia.

“Trinity Sunday, June 14th. We met for worship for the first time on the journey, as the incessant lowing and noise of the cattle drowned all attempts at discourse and singing.

“Monday, June 15th. We passed from the swamp into an extensive and beautiful region of plains where we encamped, and from which point we sent several brethren to meet the voyageurs. Here the hunters in two days shot fifteen deer, the meat of which was dried at the fires for use on the journey.

“Tuesday, June 17th. A man from the Jerseys, who on his return home will pass through Bethlehem, called at our camp. Through him I sent letters home.

“Wednesday, June 18th. We proceeded to the West

Branch, to Scoonhaven's plantation, one mile above Wallis's. Here on the 20th the canoes overtook us."

Brother Rothe narrates as follows of his journey:

"We advanced the first day but eight miles by reason of a heavy rain that fell, which necessitated us to put up huts, which in two hours time were all complete, affording us shelter. The rest refreshed us, and our little Johnny (Rothe) slept soundly. During the 12th, because of the high wind, the canoes rocked roughly on the water. Samuel's daughter was taken ill of the measles. In the evening we had our first meeting, worshipping standing in the woods. It was so cold during the night as to keep us from sleep. On the 13th the wind was still contrary, causing high waves in the river. At noon we passed Lechawachnek. As we passed the Fort we saw it lined with spectators, and a man playing on a violin. We encamped on the stony beach of the river and were disturbed at night by some drunken fellows.

"On Sunday, the 14th, after we had passed the falls below Wyomik, I held preaching. We then paddled on, and on the 15th reached Nescopee (the word signifies a nasty deep hole). Here the canoes were worked over the falls, in part by hand, in part by means of ropes, and not without much anxiety. Here the Susquehanna is not wider than the mill-dam at Bethlehem; a mile lower down, however, it grows much broader.

"16th. The wind continued contrary.

"17th. On account of Anna Elizabeth being ill we had to lay over. Several brethren came from Brother Ettwein's camp on Muncy creek. A number of white settlers also called on us, several of whom attended our evening service. At its close a German, who had years ago frequented the Brethren's meeting in Oley, called on me. I took occasion to address him in reference to his soul's welfare and he was visibly moved. Next morning he came with his family to bid us farewell.

"Sunday June 21st. Brother Rothe preached on the words of Scripture, 'Hold fast that ye have,' concerning continuing with Christ and Him crucified. In the evening service I discoursed on the text of the day: 'Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty,' treating of the true liberty enjoyed by believers, and the pseudo-liberty of unbelievers, who dread Christ's yoke and yet are in bondage to Satan. At noon I preached at Mr.

Samuel Wallis's to from fifty to sixty hearers, all English, some of whom had come from twenty miles distance. I spoke of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Monday, June 22nd. We had a market day in camp. Mr. Wallis bought of us fifteen head of cattle and some canoes. Other persons bought fowls, firkins, buckets, tubs, chains and divers iron-ware. A trader's agent had smuggled some rum into the purloins of the camp. The transgression was soon discovered, and after threatening him to his great anxiety, we handed the contraband merchandise to Mr. Wallis for safe keeping until the trader should return from the Great Island. Twenty cwt. of flour, which I had purchased with the money presented to our Indians by friends in Philadelphia, were here distributed.

"June 23rd and 24th. Broke up camp and moved on. Passed the Loyalsack at the spot where the Sainted Disciple visited thirty years ago, and Lycoming creek, which marks the boundary line of land purchased from the Indians. At both places we found white settlers. Our cattle were driven to grass into the woods, past the site of the old Indian town. One mile above Lycoming stood formerly the town of Quenischaschacki, where our Brother Nathaniel Davis lived for six years, and where Grube and Mack visited. We encamped above Larry's Creek. Here Newhaleeka's wife visited our Brother Joseph. She stated that her husband was ill, otherwise both with their family would have emigrated with us to the West. The old chief told Brother John that as soon as possible he would take the step, as he was in earnest to be converted.

"June 25th. We camped opposite Long Island. Here rattlesnakes seemed to hold undisputed sway and they were killed at all points. Not more than a half hour after our arrival a horse was brought in that had been bitten in the nose. His head swelled up frightfully, and as it rained the remedy failed to take the proper effect, and the poor animal perished the next day as we lay in camp at the lower end of Long Island and halted there on the 26th. Here I assembled all the men, told them that we had progressed but thirty miles during the past week, and that if we failed to make more rapid headway our company would come to serious want; that it would be prudent under these circumstances to leave the sick woman, her husband and their friends

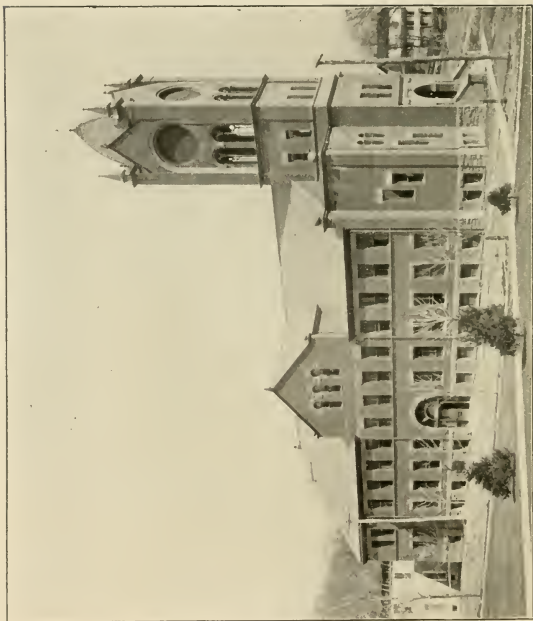
on the Island (for we expected her release was near at hand); that when Nathaniel Davis and his party (which had also remained in the rear on account of sickness) would come up they could join him, and that we would send men and fresh horses for them from Chinklacamoose. The next day, 27th, however, on arriving at Mr. Campbell's, at the upper end of the Island (this must be Big Island at mouth of Bald Eagle Creek) where we met Mr. Anderson, they dissuaded us from attempting to embark a canoe, stating the water to be too shallow for navigation. Hereupon the canoe and sundry utensils were sold, viz.: The four windows for our church, one box of glass, one keg of nails and another filled with iron we left here in trust, as it was impossible to transport them, and yet everyone was loath to part with what was his. It having rained incessantly for several days our effects were wet through, and Roth's had their clothes and bedding seriously damaged.

"Sunday, June 28th. Yesterday I promised, at their request, to preach to the white settlers. Accordingly a goodly audience assembled, English settlers from the Bald Eagle Creek and the south shore of the West Branch, to whom I proclaimed the counsels of God respecting their salvation. As no ordained minister of the Gospel was as yet settled in the neighborhood, I was requested to baptize, and accordingly I administered the sacraments to the new born daughter of a Frenchman, Fournay by name, calling her Conogunda, and to the son of a Catholic, Antoine White, whom I named John.

"Joshua convoked the men and persuaded them, despite their yesterday's deliberation to the contrary, to carry along Elizabeth, who was sick, and also to send lame Jonathan with a string of wampum ahead to Langundoutenink, Koskas Kink and Gekeldnekpeekink. As they consulted neither me or Rothe in this business, we took no further notice of it. It proved, however, the beginning of diverse perplexities.

"Monday, June 29th. My fifty-second birthday. We set out from the Island by land. I and a few of my brethren from this day on lead the caravan. Traveled fourteen miles to Beech Creek on the path agreed upon. Beech Creek is a branch of the Bald Eagle. After encamping here the brethren returned with





NEW MODEL SCHOOL, CENTRAL STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, LOCK HAVEN, PA.

horses to fetch up the baggage. This they did daily, and were thus compelled to travel the road three times.

“Tuesday, June 20th. Brother and Sister Roth came up from the rear with the others, excepting Elizabeth and her friends, she being too ill to allow of her being carried. Thereupon I moved on nine miles to a salt lick. As I was in search of Roth’s horse (which we had bought on Great Island) to send it back to his camp, I trod upon a fifteen year old rattlesnake. Such was my fright that for days I took every footstep with dread, fancying every rustling leaf to be the movement of a venomous reptile. The two Indian brethren with me despatched the reptile. Nathaniel Davis and company this day reached Campbell’s.

“Thursday, July 2nd. Brother Roth and the others again came to the front.

“Friday, July 3rd. In company with Cornelius and William I advanced early in the morning. Up to this time we had passed only through a beautiful and fertile region of country, but now our way led across the mountains. On reaching a summit, when eight miles along, we saw the bold peaks between the West Branch and the Juniata, like dwarfs, and before us stood giants. We were compelled to encamp on a dry elevation, and to fetch water from the foot of the mountain. A poor little cripple, aged ten or eleven, our sainted Brother Jonas’ son, whom his mother had carried alway in a basket from one station to another, was very weak to-day, and expressed the wish to be washed from sin in baptism. Brother Roth administered the sacrament and named him Nathan.

“Saturday, July 4th. Early to-day there came two Indians from Kaskasky en route for Stockbridge. I invited them to breakfast. One of them spoke English fluently. In his childhood he had been taken prisoner by the whites, but since then had turned a complete Indian in his mode of life.

“We proceeded four miles into the mountains. Brother Roth was from this point summoned to Great Island by an express. Thither Joshua had returned with twelve men to fetch up his sick friend; and when he arrived there she was near her end, which she attained with release from all suffering just an hour prior to Roth’s arrival. On the 6th he buried her. She was baptized May 6th, 1770, at Friedenshuetten by Brother

Smick, and was married there to Brother Mark, to whom she bore two children—one son and a daughter born twelve days ago prematurely on the West Branch. It lived but a few days. On the evening of the 6th, Brother Roth rejoined us in camp, where I yesterday held a discourse on the daily words, speaking on the delights of meditating on the Word of God. The appended verses of the hymn applied to our case as we were weak both physically and spiritually. Oh, patience!

“Tuesday, July 7th. Moved on six miles to a spring where there was excellent pasture. A heavy thunderstorm, with rain, set in.

“Wednesday, July 8th. Advanced ten miles to the West Mashannek, over precipitous and ugly mountains and through two dangerous and rocky streams. In fording the second I fell neck deep into the water. Had it been at any other season of the year we could not have endured so much wading of streams.

“Thursday, July 9th. Advanced but two miles to a run in the swamp. We were almost broken down, and those who carried the baggage could with difficulty climb the mountains.

“Friday, July 10th. Lay in camp as some of our horses had strayed, and I had to send mine back twice to Roth at his camp.

“Saturday, July 11th. We found Nathan released from all suffering. He had departed unobserved. The daily word was: ‘Remember how miserable and forsaken I was.’ How applicable! His emaciated remains were interred alongside of the path, and I cut his name into a tree that overshadowed his lonely grave, and then we moved on eight miles to an old beaver dam. My heart was often at Bethlehem, and I longed to be at the Lord’s Supper in the chapel there.

“Sunday, July 12th. Brother and Sister Roth came up and so did others. In the evening we met for worship and discoursed about prayer to, and longing for, Jesus. There was a collection of corn and beans taken up for the poor.

“Monday, July 13th. Proceeded six miles to a spring in a beautiful, widely-expanded mountain meadow. Scarcely had we encamped when a frightful storm swept over us. The angry clouds like mountains piled themselves up in the heavens, the lightning like snakes of fire leaped in forked flames over the sky,

the thunder rolled like siege artillery, and the rain came down with the sound of many waters, or the roaring of a mighty cataract. It was a war of the elements. The tall oaks bowed before the storm, and where the timber failed to do obeisance it was snapped like glass in the grasp of the roaring wind. My companions, to my surprise, heeded none of this, but cut saplings, collected bark, and built huts, which were completed as the storm passed over.

"Tuesday, July 14th. Reached Clearfield Creek, where the buffaloes formerly cleared large tracts of undergrowth so as to give them the appearance of cleared fields. Hence the Indians called the creek, Clearfield Creek. Here at night and next morning, to the great joy of the hungry, nine deer were shot. Whoever shoots a deer has for his private portion the skin and the insides; the meat he must bring into camp and deliver to the distributors. John and Cornelius acted in this capacity in our division. It proved advantageous for us not to keep so closely together as we had at first designed; for if the number of families in a camp be large, one or two deer, when cut up, afford but a scanty meal to each individual. So it happened that scarce a day passed without there being a distribution of venison in the advance, the center and the rear camp. (On the route there were one hundred and fifty deer and but three bears shot.) In this way our Heavenly Father provided for us; and I often prayed for our hunters and returned thanks for their success. As there was a growing impatience observable among those who were called on to aid others with their horses to press on and not be detained, I here spent a sleepless and anxious night. But on Thursday, July 16th, after representing the state of the case to the malcontents, I felt reassured and journeyed on with a few brethren two miles in a pelting rain to the site of Chinklacamoose, where we found but three huts and a few patches of Indian corn. The name signifies 'No one taries here willingly.' It may, perhaps, be traced to the circumstances that some thirty years ago an Indian resided here as a hermit upon a rock, who was wont to appear to the Indian hunters in frightful shapes. Some of these, too, he killed, others he robbed of their skins; and this he did for many years. We moved on four miles, and were obliged to wade the West Branch three times, which is here like the Lehigh at

Bethlehem, between the island and the mountain, rapid and full of ripples.

"Friday, July 17th. Advanced only four miles to a creek that comes down from the northwest. Had a narrow and stony spot for our camp.

"Saturday, July 18th. Moved on without awaiting Roth and his division, who, on account of the rain, had remained in camp. To-day Shebosch lost a colt from the bite of a rattlesnake. Here we left the West Branch three miles to the northwest up the creek, crossing it five times. Here, too, the path went precipitously up the mountain, and four or five miles up and up—to the summit—to a spring, the head waters of the Ohio. Here I lifted my heart in prayer, as I looked westward, that the Sun of Grace might rise over the heathen nations that dwell beyond the distant horizon.

"Sunday, July 19th. As yesterday but two families kept with me because of the rain, we had a quiet Sunday but enough to do drying our effects. In the evening all joined me, but we could hold no service, as the ponkis were so excessively annoying that the cattle pressed toward and into our camp to escape their persecutors in the smoke of the fires. This vermin is a plague to man and beast, both by day and night. But in the swamp through which we are now passing their name is legion. Hence the Indians call the swamp 'Ponksutenink,' i. e., 'the town of the ponkis.' The word is equivalent to living dust and ashes. The brethren here related an Indian myth, to wit: That the afore-cited Indian hermit and sorcerer, after having been for many years a terror to all Indians, had been killed by one who had burned his bones; but the ashes he blew into the swamp, and they became living things, and hence the ponkis."

The summing up of their trip is as follows:

"None received injury to his person, although dangers were without number, especially along the West Branch, where there are rattlesnakes in abundance. I trod on one. Another bit an Indian's stocking while hunting, and so tenaciously that he could hardly rid himself of the reptile. Twice was one discovered in our camp basking between the fires after all had lain down to sleep. And yet no one was injured. Once the horse that was ahead of me trod upon the head of a large one, so that it rattled

but once more. I know that upwards of fifty were killed. Many laid stretched across the path, and it is a matter of wonder to this moment that none of so large a herd of cattle should have been bitten. The fact that the horned cattle brought up the rear of the companies was in their favor. Among the rocks and timbers we fell countless times. Sister Roth fell from her horse four times—once with her child into a bog, and once into the bushes backward from her horse with her child, and once she hung on the stirrups. My horse once took a leap down an embankment on the bank of a creek, throwing me over his head onto my back."

On the 20th of July, the travelers left the mountains and reached the banks of the Allegheny river, then called the Ohio. Here they stopped to build canoes, in which they sent the aged and infirm and the heavy baggage down the river. Two days afterwards the Missionary Heckewelder reached them with a convoy of horses on his way from Friedenstadt to assist them. They all arrived at Friedenstadt on the 5th of August, where they received an affectionate welcome from the entire congregation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FEROCITY OF THE WHITE MEN.

IN A STUDY of the sociology of the Indians, the account written by Heckewelder for presentation to the President of the United States, in 1822, giving the history of the Moravian Indians, there is the clearest and most satisfactory account from a thoroughly reliable authority, and taken in connection with the various attempts to civilize the Indians, one that reveals the fatal defect to be, not the savagery of the red man, but the depravity of the aggressive white man.

Heckewelder says: "The first Christian Indian settlement in Pennsylvania, under the care of the United Brethren, was made in 1742 by emigrants, both Mohicans and Wampanos, from New England and the then province of New York, who settled on Mahoney Creek, about twenty-seven miles to the northwest of Bethlehem, on lands which the Brethren had bought for the purpose. But as the spot on which they first settled did not suit them, the soil being of a stiff, clayey nature, the Brethren, who had begun to build houses on the northeast side of the river Lehigh, where the land was sandy, exchanged with them, so that the Indians had the lands that were easier to work, while the Brethren, being provided with ploughs, took those that were not so readily cultivated. These two settlements were but half a mile apart, yet separated by the river and a ridge on its southwest side. The Indians called their village Gnadenhutten, and their ministers and schoolmasters lived with them. At the other place, which retained its original Indian name Mahoney (which signifies a deer-lick), the Brethren built mills, cultivated the land, and established the more needful industries, not only for their own profits, but also to teach the Indians the arts of husbandry, and to instruct such of their young people as might desire it, in various useful branches of industry. * * * * In November, 1755, the white settlements having been destroyed by the French Indians

the whole Indian congregation at Gnadenhutten fled to Bethlehem for protection, being sensible that they were in peril of their lives, not only at the hands of the Indians who were in league with the French, but also of enraged white people. They were well received by the white Brethren and directed to build themselves temporary dwellings on the opposite side of the Menakes creek, near the mills, dye-houses, and tan yards, where I had the pleasure of seeing them for the first time. These Indians were then recognized by all sensible and impartial men, who had been led by curiosity to come to Bethlehem for the purpose of seeing them, as an orderly, civil and industrious people; better deserving the name of Christians than many of the whites. They had already in a great measure become husbandmen, since those who had strength and ability devoted their time to manual labor at home, and when they had no work there they joined the Brethren in their labors in the field or barn, while their aged men made wooden bowls and ladles, and barn and grain shovels, &c., for all which they found a ready market by millers, and their women made brooms and sieves, as the store-keepers took all that were not wanted by the country people in exchange for wearing apparel or any other article they needed, sending these manufactured articles in wagons to Brunswick and New York, where they found a ready sale. While this division of the Christian Indians, who were all of the Mohican tribe, resided at Bethlehem, it was a pleasing sight to behold this congregation occasionally, and especially on Sabbath days, attending divine service in the chapel together with the white congregation. The same was the case with the other division, consisting of Delawares and Monseys, who had been stationed at Gnadenthal, near Nazareth, at which latter place divine service was performed on the same day.

“The Indians settled at Bethlehem being very desirous of living on a tract of land by themselves, where they could have the advantage of keeping a small stock of cattle, the Brethren willingly granted them permission to move to a convenient spot on their land a little more than a mile from Bethlehem, which place was afterwards called Nain. The village formed a large square, with buildings on three sides, the south side being left open for the convenience of fetching water from the fine spring run which

flowed by. The place was kept neat and clean. There was a well in the middle of the square. The houses, built of squared timbers and roofed with shingles, had fine gardens enclosed with good paling fences in the rear. Their fields were kept in the best condition. Besides their public buildings, the school and meeting house, they erected a convenient dwelling for poor widows whom they supported.

“For the division of Christian Indians who settled at Gnadenthal during the war, the Brethren bought a partly cultivated tract of land called Wequetank, on the north side of the Blue Mountains, about twenty-five miles from Bethlehem, where they built themselves a village and were supplied with a minister and a school-master. These Indians, although not so far advanced in husbandry as the former, who had been the first converts, were not inferior to them as to their moral character.

“Scarcely had the Christian Indians lived peacefully and happily for five years at these two places when another Indian war broke out, which occasioned the abandonment of both settlements. The same persecuting spirit which seized the minds of a certain class of people in Dauphin county, who in their frenzy murdered the Conestoga Indians, incited a like class in Northampton county to commit similar acts on the Christian Indians near them, which caused the evacuation of their villages and their speedy removal to Philadelphia for protection under the government. * * * * During the whole of their stay in this part of the country, a period of twenty years, not a single complaint was brought against any one of them for any crime that would come under the cognizance of a magistrate and been punishable by law. * * * * On their return to Nain, after a detention of seventeen months at Philadelphia on account of the war, they found their possessions in good condition, as the Brethren had immediately on their departure placed a family there to care for their effects. * * * * As they were compelled by their Indian masters to remove to the Indian country, they sold most of their possessions to the Brethren. All their plow irons, farming utensils and tools they took with them.

“Scarcely had these Indians, together with those who had lived at Wequetank, arrived at Wyalusing, on the Susquehanna, when their plows were again turning up the rich ground they

found there. They were able to make their own plows, harrows, &c., and to do any ordinary carpenter's or cooper's work with despatch. A village was speedily built, and by the time they were compelled to leave the place, in 1772, just eight years after their arrival there, their settlements and improvements afforded a beautiful prospect to the eye, indicating that its inhabitants must be an orderly and industrious people. They were very unwilling to go from this place but the Six Nations had sold that whole country, including the lands they occupied, to the English.

"They were invited by the great Delaware Council on the Muskingum to remove to their country, where permanent residence would be assured them

"Previous to this invitation their grievances had been laid before the Governor of Pennsylvania, with a prayer that he would see justice done them, and secure them in the possession of their lands which the Six Nations had sold, to which petition the Governor had returned a favorable answer. The expectations that were based on the Governor's reply were, however, not realized. He had assured them that as a quiet and peaceable people they should not be disturbed in their possessions, and that he had ordered the surveyors not to survey any land within five miles of Friedenshuetten (Wyalusing), and that they therefore should consider all reports of taking away their land to be without foundation. Notwithstanding this promise, they saw to their mortification that the surveyors were running lines, not only within the limits named by the Governor, but even across their fields in sight of their village. They accordingly saw no other alternative than to comply with the offer made them by the great Council of the West, and move away from this favorite spot.

"It was not to be wondered at that these Indians had become attached to their abode, where buildings, fields, gardens, fruit trees, &c., were in such fine order as to be a delight to the eye. The very streets were kept clean. The situation of the ground being level and the soil a mixture of sand and clay, they were regularly swept by the women with wooden brooms on Saturdays, in summer, when the ground was dry, and the rubbish carefully removed. The cleanliness of the place was also promoted by a post and rail fence completely surrounding the village so as to keep out the cattle. As idleness leads to poverty, beggarliness

and immorality, so on the other hand does the ownership of property acquired by industry foster an attachment to the same from which flow care, cleanliness, order, economy and all the traits which characterize a civilized people. The Christian Indians had already exhibited these traits when they were settled in Northampton county. Morality had become habitual to them, and the better their opportunities to put into action the mental endowments which had previously lain dormant within them, the greater were the advances they made therein.

" On their arrival at the Muskingum, in the year 1772, they were abundantly satisfied that what had been promised by the Great Council of the nation would be fulfilled. The limits of the land were particularly described. Strings and belts of wampum were given in token and as lasting vouchers of the grant, and the Wyandotts declared themselves witnesses to the act and deed. Two fine villages were soon built, which were called Schonbrunn and Gnadenhutten, the former being occupied by the Delawares and the latter by the Mohicans; and in the course of time a third town named Salem was built on the same grant. Gnadenhutten and Salem occupied the very spots from which the Great Council had removed the then settlers to make room for the Christian Indians.

" These Christian Indians were in a flourishing condition at the beginning of the American Revolution. They were principally husbandmen. Hunting was with them no longer a primary object, for the great quantity of grain they raised and the large stock of cattle they held, every family having more or less milch cows, together with hogs in great number feeding in the woods and plenty of poultry at home, afforded them an abundant supply of provisions. But for the purpose of purchasing from the traders articles of clothing, kettles, pewter ware, salt, tea, chocolate, &c., they were obliged to hunt occasionally at the proper season. * * * * No courts of judicature were established among them, nor were any magistrates appointed, for there was no necessity for these in a community in which no disorderly person was permitted to dwell. Neither could a magistrate, if one had been stationed among them, have lived by the fees of his office, as no crimes were committed that would have come under his cognizance."

On the 8th day of March, 1782, a band of men collected on the frontier of Pennsylvania and under the command of Colonel David Williamson proceeded to Gnadenhutzen, and there scalped and killed the entire number, except two who escaped.

In his diary, Zeisberger says of it: "The militia, some two hundred in number, as we hear, came first to Gnadenhutzen. A mile from town they met young Shebosh in the bush, whom they killed and scalped, and near by the houses two friendly Indians not belonging to us but who had gone there with our people from Sandusky, among whom there were several other friends, who perished likewise. Our Indians were mostly on the plantations and saw the militia come, but no one thought of fleeing for they suspected no ill. The militia came to them and bade them come into the town, telling them that no harm should befall them. They trusted and went, but were all bound, the men being put into one house, the women into another. The Mohican Abraham, who for some time had been bad in heart, when he saw that his end was near, made an open confession before his brethren and said, 'You know I am a bad man; that I have much troubled the Savior and the Brethren, and have not behaved as becomes a believer, yet to Him I belong, bad as I am. He will forgive us all and not reject me; to the end I shall hold fast to Him and not leave Him.' Then they began to sing hymns and spoke words of encouragement and consolation one to another, until they were all slain. Abraham was the first to be led out, but the others were killed in the house. Ninety-six persons were scalped, then cut to pieces; of these, besides women, thirty-four were children. Those at Schonbrunn escaped, but were compelled to leave their homes and seek refuge on the Thames river, beyond the settlements of the whites.

"Afterwards Congress set apart lands for them on the Muskingum and thither they came and called their home Goshen."

Returning to Heckewelder's account we read: "Soon after these Indians had settled at Goshen the Sandusky traders came on to traffic with them for their peltry, always bringing liquor with them, for the purpose of making better bargains, or, in other words, cheating them. They would sometimes even bring a Sandusky Indian with them to entice their victim to drink. While these traders came from the West, others of the lowest

class brought strong drink from the Ohio settlements to help them make good bargains.

“The missionaries, dreading the consequences of such proceedings, applied to me, as the Agent of the Society, to join with them in a petition to the legislature of the State, praying for the passage of a law that should prohibit the bringing of any liquor into the Schonbrunn tract, and in the winter of 1799-1800 the Assembly did pass such a law, whose provisions moreover applied not only to Schonbrunn, but to the other tracts included in the grant, and authorizing the missionaries and the agent to seize any and all liquor that should be brought into their domain, and do with it as they should think proper. The missionaries hoped that the passage of this law would have the desired effect, but they were disappointed. Its enforcement in one instance did indeed, for a short time, serve as a check to the unscrupulous traders. One of these from Sandusky, in defiance of the Act, of whose passage he was well aware, and of the warning of the missionaries, came to the village of Goshen with a supply of liquor which he offered to the Indians for sale or in exchange for peltry. The missionary Zeisberger, although then in his eightieth year, in his zeal for the cause in which he was engaged, took up an axe, stove the kegs and poured the contents into the river. But an outcry was raised against the act as being an infringement on the rights and liberties of a free and independent people, which actually led to its speedy repeal. Some parties did not even wait for its repeal, but introduced and sold liquor within the limits of the tract, and violated the law so grossly that the missionaries were powerless to prevent intoxication with its attendant evils, and occasional brawls, even on the Sabbath. This state of things in the spring of 1802 must be regarded as the original occasion of the decline of the Goshen Indians in morality. They could not, when attending to their daily pursuits, avoid seeing and hearing what was injurious to them, and moreover the actual temptations and snares laid by immoral whites to drag them down to their own level of degradation were so numerous that it was impossible for their missionaries to guard against them all.”

These Indians at Goshen were all of a new stock gathered since the Revolution and not those who had come from the Susquehanna. Those earlier ones were too firm in their faith to be

corrupted by even the unscrupulous traders. They were the ones who died, singing, at the hands of the merciless white man.

Too often the Indians were compelled by those who employed them to receive their wages in liquor or useless trash.

The perfidy and cruelty of the white men in dealing with the Christian Indians is as horrible and inexcusable as any of the dark and bloody deeds of the most savage of the Indians.

An old book published at Carlisle, in 1808, entitled "Loudon's Indian Narratives," gives an account of a tragic affair that shows the awful cruelty of the whites toward the Indians simply as Indians.

In September, 1763, a volunteer company of about one hundred men from Lancaster and Cumberland counties were sent by the settlers into the Indian country to chastise the savages for the numerous murders and depredations committed by them. The expedition was sent without any direct authority from the officers of government. At that time there existed a great deal of dissatisfaction with the protection given certain Indians by the Moravians and the Quakers, and expeditions like this were the means by which the lawless vented their rage on the Indians.

The account says: "In September, 1763, about one hundred of us went up to take the Indian town at the Great Island, and went up to Fort Augusta, where we sent a man forward to see whether Andrew Monture was there, but he was not; he asked where he was, and was told he had gone to his plantation. We had apprehended that Monture knew of our coming and had gone to inform the Indians at the town called Great Island, or Monsey town, and when we got to the Fort the officers that lay there wanted to persuade us not to go over, as the Monsey Indians were friendly to the white people. But as this was contradicted by some, we concluded to go. When we had crossed the river we saw Monture coming down in a canoe with a hog and some corn, which he had brought from his plantation. When he came near we called to him, upon which he landed and inquired our business, which we told him, and asked his advice whether it was proper to proceed or not. He said they were bad Indians and we might use them as we pleased. We went that night to Monture's plantation, and next morning crossed the Monsey hills and discovered fires where the Indians had lain the night before. Here we con-

sulted whether to proceed or not; at length William Patterson turned back and we followed him. When we arrived at the top of the Monsey hill, we met with a party of Indians, which we engaged; had two men killed and four wounded, two of which died that night. We then went and secreted the dead bodies in a small stream to prevent their being discovered by the enemy. By that time it was night, and we went on about twenty perches, where the Indians fired on us from beyond the point of a hill. About twelve of us ran up the hill when we heard them running, but could not see them. We then came back to where they had fired on us at first and found that the rest of our party had gone. We heard somebody coming after, stopped to see who it was. George Allen and two or three more of our men came up to us. We chose Allen to pilot us into the path, which he undertook to do; but after traveling along the side of Monsey hill with much difficulty until midnight, I told him we were going the wrong road; he told me if I knew the road better to go before. We then directed our course southward until near daybreak, when we came to a path, which Allen informed us led to the Great Island and crossed the North Branch to Iskepeck falls; in this path we traveled until daylight, when we saw smoke, and proceeding ten or twelve perches, saw some Indians sitting around a fire. I then turned to the right into the woods and some of our men followed me and some went on in the path till the Indians saw them, and seized their guns; we then raised our guns to fire, but the Indians cried, 'don't shoot! brothers, don't shoot!' We answered, 'we will not if you do not;' we then went up to them and asked where they had been; they said they had been at the Moravian town buying goods; we told them we had an engagement the evening before with some of their people; they said it was impossible, as there were no Indians at the Great Island but a few old men and boys, the rest having all gone out a hunting; I told them I knew better; that they were gone to Tuscorora and Shearman's Valley to kill the white people; that we had been waylaid at Buffalo Creek by them and had five men killed and one wounded; that James Patterson's shot pouch and powder horn had been found near the place, and he was a Great Island Indian, and they must come with us. The three Indians began to tremble, and leaving the victuals they were preparing, proceeded with us.

"After we had traveled a short distance, I asked George Allen what we should do with the prisoners; he said we would take them to the Fort and deliver them up to the commander. I told him if we do that perhaps they will let them go, or send them to Philadelphia, where they would be used better than ourselves by the Quakers, and you know what a defeat I got a few weeks ago at Buffalo Creek, where five of my neighbors were killed and I had hard running to save my own life; I have declared revenge on the first Indian that I saw, and am glad that the opportunity now offers. 'Why,' said Allen, 'would you kill them yourself? for you can get no person here to help you.' 'There is enough,' said I, 'to help me to kill them.' 'Where you kill them?' said Allen. I told him on the hill that is before us, which lies between the two branches of the Susquehanna River, near the North Branch. When we came to the top of the hill the prisoners asked liberty to eat some victuals, which we allowed them; they directed us to where we might find it among their baggage; we went and found it and gave it to them. While they were eating we concluded who would shoot at them. There were six of us willing to shoot. As soon as they were done eating we told them to march on before us, and when they had gone about thirty yards we fired at them, and three fell, but one of them named George Allen, after the George Allen that was with us, was shot only through the arm, and fell with that arm uppermost and bloodied his body, which made us believe he was shot through his body; but after he was scalped, having a good pair of leggings on, one of the men had staid behind to take them off; before he could get any but one, the Indian started up and ran; the man was surprised at his raising from the dead, and before he could get any assistance he had made his escape. He afterwards told, that running down the hill he fell asleep; that after he recovered he got up to run, but the skin of his face, the scalp being off, came down over his eyes so that he could not see; he then took off the legging that was left and bound it round his face, and when he came to a spring he took the cold moss of the stones, laid it on his head to keep the hot sun from beating in upon his brains, and made out to get to Great Island, where he recovered."

The attitude of the various classes of people toward the Indians is seen in the affair of Frederick Stump.

Frederick Stump was a German living in Penn's township, not far from where Selinsgrove now stands. He was a stout, well-proportioned man five feet and eight inches in height, and thirty-three years of age. He had a servant, John Ironcutter, a thick, clumsy fellow nineteen years of age. Both of them used the German language and spoke English poorly.

On the 10th of January, 1768, White Mingo, Cornelius, John Campbell, Jones, and two Indian women came to Stump's house and were drunk and disorderly. When they would not leave at his command, he and his servant killed them. They then went up the creek to a cabin fourteen miles distant, and killed a woman, two girls and a child, then burned the cabin over their bodies. These Indians had come from Great Island to be near and under the protection of the white people, and while unruly when under the influence of rum, were not at all dangerous. When the news of the murder became known, the whites were filled with fear of the consequences by the Indians. Some of these tracked the murderer to Fort Augusta, and to the very house where he was in concealment. But the women at the house positively declared that they had not seen him, and thus he escaped. To show what they would do with him if they caught him, they seized a cat and pulled out its hair, then tore it to pieces. When Governor Penn heard of the deed he was greatly shocked, and at once sent messengers to the Six Nations, pledging that he would do all in his power to apprehend the murderers and bring them to justice. He also commanded all officers of the province to use every effort to arrest them. He also offered a reward of £200 for their apprehension. The following letter was sent to the county magistrates: "I am persuaded, gentlemen, that the love of justice, a sense of duty, and a regard for the public safety will be sufficient inducements with you to exert yourselves in such manner as to leave no measures untried which may be likely to apprehend and bring to punishment the perpetrator of so horrible a crime, which, in its consequences, will certainly involve us again in all the calamities of an Indian war, and be attended with the effusion of much innocent blood, unless, by a proper exertion of the powers of Government and a due execution of the laws, we can satisfy our Indian allies that the Government does not countenance those who wantonly spill their blood, and convince them that we think our-

selves bound by the solemn treaties made with them. I have this matter so much at heart that I have determined to give a reward of two hundred pounds to any person or persons who shall apprehend the said Frederick Stump and bring him to justice," etc.

Stump was finally decoyed by the invitation to join a party to kill more Indians, showing the frenzy for killing was in his blood. He was lodged in the jail at Carlisle. Then a question arose as to where he should be tried, and in the meantime a body of sixty armed men surrounded the jail, and by force took Stump out, to set him at liberty. Other rewards were offered for his arrest, the Governor urged all officers to do their duty, and a description of the man was broadly circulated. But the people refused to report him, and although his former neighbors did not wish him to remain amongst them, they would not put him in the hands of the law. They even complained that the Government discriminated in its acts of justice against the white people and in favor of the Indians. Stump and Ironcutter finally went down to Virginia, where he lived to an advanced age.

The Indians thus saw, that while the asseverations of the authorities were in favor of justice, that either they did not mean what they said, or that they were powerless to fulfill their pledges. And the knowledge that the settlers would wink at such an atrocious deed must have filled the heart of the Indian with scorn and desire for revenge. Such deeds were hastening the time when the races would battle with each other to the absolute destruction of the weaker one.

CHAPTER VIII.

SHIKELLIMY.

IN THE study of Indian character, among the few that stand out in peculiar grandeur is Shikellimy, or, as he was sometimes called, Swatane. It is said that he was one of the Susquehannocks, or Andastes, and that when the tribe gave up the pursuit of war and settled as a peaceful people at Conestoga, and some of the warriors, unwilling to thus give up active pursuits, went out from the tribe and joined other tribes, that Shikellimy went to the Oneidas and became one of them, uniting with the Oquacho or Wolf tribe. The inherent genius of the man could not be hidden, and he soon advanced to a commanding position among them. As early as 1728 he became the representative of the Six Nations in their treaties with the Proprietary government. The English people soon discovered his worth and always courted his favor. From the time he was appointed to this position, for twenty years, there was hardly a treaty made but his presence was manifested, and his wise counsels led the Indian chiefs to their conclusions.

"In 1737," Conrad Weiser writes, "I was sent the first time to Onondaga at the desire of the Governor of Virginia. I departed in the latter end of February very unexpectedly for a journey of five hundred miles through a wilderness where there was neither road nor path, and at such a time of the year when animals could not meet with food. There were with me a Dutchman and three Indians. On the ninth of April I found myself extremely weak through the fatigues of so long a journey with cold and hunger which I had suffered. There having fallen a fresh snow about twenty inches deep, and we being yet three days' journey from Onondaga in a frightful wilderness my spirit failed, my body trembled and shook, and I thought I should fall down and die. I stepped aside and sat down under a tree, expecting there to die. My companions soon missed me.



Shikellimy, the Indian Viceroy at Shamokin.

The Indians came back and found me sitting there. They remained silent awhile; at last Shikellimy said, 'My dear companion, thou hast hitherto encouraged us; wilt thou now give quite up? Remember that evil days are better than good days, for when we suffer much we do not sin; sin will be driven out of us by suffering, and God cannot extend his mercy to the former; but, contrarywise, when it goeth evil with us, God has compassion on us.' These words made me ashamed. I rose up and travelled as well as I could."

Spangenberg reported these words of Shikellimy to Christian David, who made them known to the Moravian brethren in Europe, and it induced several of the young brethren at Marion-born to consecrate themselves to the work of missions among the Indians of North America.

The year 1745 was an important year in the experience of Shikellimy. In the summer of this year he visited Bethlehem, and spent three weeks there. The visit was an event of unusual importance because the Brethren saw the value of his friendship and their doing every thing to retain it, and on his part the deepening of his spiritual life. He expressed his favorable relations to them by formally adopting several of them into the Indian tribes and giving them the names of distinguished chiefs. At this time he was the commanding figure of all the visitors to Bethlehem. Among those who would see him and his companions, and be deeply impressed by his dignity of character, was the lad, John Henry Antes, then a scholar in the Youths' Choir House. The Indian would be shown the schools, and formally presented to the scholars, and they were at the age to be so impressed as never to forget the scene. Henceforth Shikellimy and Shamokin were words that had an intelligible meaning to them. After the visit Shikellimy, accompanied by Spangenberg, undertook a journey to Onondaga. While on this journey the chief gave to Spangenberg the name T'girhitonti, meaning a row of trees.

When Shikellimy saw the advantage of the work of a blacksmith he desired the Brethren to establish one at Shamokin, and promised to have him taken care of. In response to this request Anton Schmidt was sent there in 1747, and from that time Shamokin became a center of Moravian work on both branches of the Susquehanna. In 1747 there was an epidemic of fever

that attacked the tent of the chieftain and several of his family died. His life was saved by medicine given him by Conrad Weiser. Then came his visit to Bethlehem and his conversion to complete faith in Christ.

Cammerhof excelled in keeping a diary. The minutest events were carefully recorded by him as if they were important historical events. In January of 1748 he visited Shamokin with Joseph Powell, and wrote:

"Concluded to consult with Shikellimy about the smithy and appointed the afternoon for the interview. Asked him to dinner, which he deemed an honor. Later he summoned his councilors to our house. There were present Shikellimy, his two younger sons and Logan's wife, who was to act as interpreter through the Mohican tongue. His oldest son was sick—was unable to be present. Mack's wife translated my words into Mohican, and Logan's wife this into Shawanese, and James Shikellimy into Oneida for his father.

"Shikellimy said: 'Don't take it amiss, my brethren, that I speak first. You said you wished to tell me and my brethren words, but first I must tell you something. My brethren, don't take it amiss that the smith at Shamokin up to this time has not had more meat to eat. I have been sick, and also my sons and their children, and many of them died. If we had been well, and able to go on the hunt, then the smith and his wife would have had more to eat.'

"We replied: 'Shikellimy, my brother! T'girhitonti, my brother and your brother, heard of your great sickness; we sympathized with you and we rejoice to see that you are convalescent. T'girhitonti, your brother, wishes you good health. (This pleased him exceedingly.) Shikellimy, my brother! My brother, the smith, and his brethren at Shamokin are not displeased, for they had as much meat as was necessary; and T'girhitonti and his brethren are not displeased, and rejoice of your kindness toward the smith.' Shikellimy said: 'So far the smith has taken deer skins in exchange for his work, cannot he also take raccoon, fox, wild cat and other skins, so the smith can be paid for his work?'

"'Shikellimy, my brother, T'girhitonti and his brethren are no traders, they don't traffic in furs, for that is not their business; hence the smith cannot take all kinds of skins. The deer skins

T'girhitonti and his brethren use for their people to make breeches, caps, gloves, etc.; the smith must take deer skins. But, as T'girhitonti loves you and your brethren, the smith shall sometimes take otter, raccoon and fox skins, as such skins are useful to us. He will not deliver the work until it is paid for, else he be cheated.'

"Shikellimy said: 'I always said that the smith should trust no Indian, but as soon as he mended a gun he should keep it until it is paid. Why did he trust? I knew he would be deceived.'

"'Shikellimy, my brother, the smith loves the Indians, and hence he trusted them. For when Indians came to him with their broken guns he did not want to send them away to get skins first, thus causing them to lose several days of the hunt—hence he trusted them. But he finds he is being cheated, and he is unwilling to trust any more.'

Shikellimy said: 'Cannot the smith also take bear and elk skins for his work?' 'He can take as many bear skins,' we replied, 'as are brought; also the skins of the elk; but it is better if he is paid in deer skins, for T'girhitonti and his brethren are no traders.'

Shikellimy said: 'Now, my brethren, I have said all I have to say, and I thank you for your answers; now you can speak.'

"'T'girhitonti,' said I, 'and all his brethren send greetings to you, brother Shikellimy. I send you this, my younger brother (Cammerhof), to greet you, to tell you of my joy that you are again well, for I love you tenderly, Shikellimy. Johanan (Zinzendorf's Indian name) who is over the great water, so sent my younger brother over the great water to greet you and your brethren and to tell you he loves you.'

"'Shikellimy, I sent the smith here, who I love, to work for you, and I rejoice that you all love him. Continue to do so.'

"'Shikellimy, my brother, I need my brother Mack and his wife at Bethlehem, for she will soon be confined. (About this they spoke much to each other). I send my brother Powell to live with the smith and to help him. I love him and do you also love him.' (Here they smiled at Powell.)

"'Shikellimy, my brother, you said you would give the smith and his brethren more land to plant corn, pumpkins and turnips.

Do as you said, and give them wood, so they can split rails and fence it in before planting time.'

" 'Shikellimy, my brother, we are delighted to hear that you will visit us again in Bethlehem, and if you bring along your son James and his Mohican wife, and your other sons, they will be heartily welcome. I have now said all I have to say and thank you for your attention. You are at liberty to reply if you have anything to say.'

" He sent many greetings to T'girhitonti and his brethren, and said that as soon as it grew warmer, that he could sleep out in the woods, he would come to Bethlehem. His son Logan said the same thing. At the close of the conference I distributed some presents, after which Shikellimy pointed out to us a piece of land for the use of the smith.

" I conferred with my brethren and we determined the following:

1. That the smith is not to trust.
2. That he is not to entertain Indians at his house, as it makes Shikellimy distrustful, for there are special houses for all strangers or visitors. To allow anyone to sleep in your house is a mark of great confidence.
3. The smith is to trust no traders.
4. No Indian to be trusted on any trader's account.
5. Our brethren are not to interfere with or pass judgment in case of any dispute between Indians and traders, nor interfere with their bargains.
6. Must represent to the Indians at all times that we are not traders.
7. We must not lead Indians into temptation by leaving many things lie about the house or shop.
8. Entertain no traders. Send them all to Shikellimy, except Captain McKee.
9. Always be scrupulously truthful to the Indians; never say we have nothing when we have.
10. We cannot be as hospitable to the Indians at Shamokin as at Bethlehem, as we do not raise harvests here, but must transport all our flour from Harris Ferry; but always be self-denying to the last crust to the needy and the suffering and the sick.
11. Our brethren are to visit the Indians frequently in their huts; no distinction to be made between Iroquois, Delawares and

Tudelars, although the former despise the Delawares. No partiality.

12. The good will of Shikellimy and his family must be maintained. Invite him frequently to dinner and constantly seek his advice.

13. No more land is to be used than is absolutely necessary to farm after the Indian fashion, and only corn, potatoes, turnips and beans to be raised. It is true Shikellimy proposed to the smith to keep cows and hogs, but this best be not done.

January 19. Bishop Cammerhof reached Bethlehem.

The death of this noble Indian was extremely pathetic. David Zeisberger was with him at the time and heard him reiterate his faith in Christ and his love for the Brethren. He was again attacked by fever and grew worse so rapidly that he lost the power of speech. He reached out his hand to Zeisberger and tried to speak, but not being able to form the words, his countenance was illuminated by a bright smile of unusual perception of what he could not express, and in this rapture he died.

Zeisberger and Henry Fry made him a coffin, and the Indians painted the body in their gayest colors, and bedecked it with his choicest ornaments, and placed with him his weapons according to the Indian custom, then after Christian rites conducted by Bishop Zeisberger, he was buried by the three famous Moravians, Post, Loesch and Schmidt, assisted by his sorrowing Indian friends.

He had been buried several days when his son Logan returned home to weep over his grave and to express the true mourning of a loving Indian heart.

Loskiel, the historian, who knew him well, pays this glowing tribute to his character and worth.

"Being the first magistrate and head chief of all the Iroquois Indians living on the banks of the Susquehanna as far as Onondaga, he thought it incumbent on him to be very circumspect in his dealings with the white people. He mistrusted the Brethren at first, but upon discovering their sincerity became their firm and real friend. Being much engaged in political affairs he had learned the art of concealing his sentiments; and therefore never contradicted those who endeavored to prejudice his mind against the missionaries, though he always suspected their motives. In the last years of his life he became less re-

served and received those brethren who came to Shamokin into his house. He assisted them in building, and defended them against the insults of the drunken Indians; being himself never addicted to drinking, because, as he expressed it, he never wished to become a fool. He had built his house upon pillars for safety, in which he always shut himself up when any drunken frolic was going on in the village. In this house Bishop Johannes Von Watteville and his company visited and preached the Gospel to him. It was then that the Lord opened his heart. He listened with great attention, and at last with tears respected the doctrine of a crucified Jesus, and received it in faith. During his visit in Bethlehem a remarkable change took place in his heart, which he could not conceal. He found comfort, peace and joy, by faith, in his Redeemer, and the Brethren considered him as a candidate for baptism; but hearing that he had already been baptized by a Roman Catholic priest in Canada they only endeavored to impress his mind with a proper idea of his sacramental ordinance, upon which he destroyed a small idol which he wore about his neck. After his return to Shamokin the grace of God bestowed upon him was truly manifest, and his behaviour was remarkably peaceable and contented."

The nobility of character that had distinguished Shikellimy was inherited by his second son Logan. He was named after James Logan, the cultured Governor of the Province, because of Shikellimy's regard for him. There was every thing in the personal bearing of Logan to make him the true friend of the white people. His career is a presentation of the difficulties that beset the nobler Indians on the frontier when they were pressed on the one hand by the unscrupulous white renegades and adventurers, and on the other hand by the treacherous and cruel free-lance red men. They could please neither party, and the great body of white people were influenced more by the color of the parties than the justice of their cause. When Logan returned to Shamokin to weep at the grave of his beloved parent, there was not a grain of ill feeling in his heart against the whites. Even when the Susquehannocks were so foully murdered he did not rise in vengeance, for he knew that the deed was not the wish of the people but the frenzy of a horde of lawless men. But when his own family, his wife and little ones, were murdered, then the moral code of his people required that he should arise and

avenge them. This he did, but with a broken heart, because of the destruction of all his hopes of futurity among the dwellers in the forests. The lonesomeness of his life was oppressive. His reply to Lord Dunmore reveals this, and has made his name to be known by every student of eloquence in this country.

Let us turn for a moment to his household and see those whom he loved as his own, and for whom he slew the deer and the bear, and who comforted him in his lonesomeness.

Logan's wife was a Mohican. Powell relates a very pathetic story of the death of her daughter. He says: "Last fall she took her daughter, four years old, with her on the annual hunt. It took sick and died, bewitched, she said, by the Delaware sorcerers. She carried the body of her dead child home and had it buried in the ancestral burying ground at Shamokin. The mother came to our house, asked for nails, as she wanted to make a coffin to put the child in. She told Sister Mack that before death it said: 'Mother, I will soon die; greet the white people; tell them that I never stole turnips. I always asked when I wanted one.' She asked her whether the child would go to our God. Sister Mack said yes, and she spoke of the love of God to children. Our brethren attended the funeral of the child. The mother placed it in the coffin with its presents, viz: a blanket, several pairs of mocassins, buckskin for new ones, needle and thread, a kettle, two hatchets to cut kindling wood, flint and steel, so that on arriving in the new country she could go to housekeeping. Beside this she was beautifully painted and had a supply of bear's meat, corn and a calabash. After the funeral the mother came to our house and brought a quart tin and gave it to Sister Mack, saying: 'This had been her daughter's, and she should keep it in remembrance of her.'"

R. P. Maclay said of Logan: "This was Logan—the best specimen of humanity I ever met with, either white or red. We visited Logan at his camp at Logan's Spring, and your father and he shot at a mark for a dollar a shot. Logan lost four or five rounds and acknowledged himself beaten. When we were about to leave him he went into his hut and brought out as many deerskins as he had lost dollars and handed them to Mr. Maclay, who refused to take them, alleging that we had been his guests and did not come out to rob him; that the shooting had only been a trial of skill, and the bet merely nominal. Logan drew him-

self up with great dignity, and said, 'Me bet to make you shoot your best, me gentleman, and me take your dollar if me beat.' So he was obliged to take the skins or affront our friend, whose nice sense of honor would not permit him to receive even a horn of powder in return.

"Logan supported his family by killing deer, dressing the skins, and selling them to the whites. He had sold quite a parcel to one De Yong, a tailor, who lived in Ferguson's Valley, below the gap. Tailors in those days dealt extensively in buckskin breeches. Logan received his pay, according to stipulation, in wheat. The wheat on being taken to the mill was found so worthless that the miller refused to grind it. Logan was much chagrined, and attempted in vain to obtain redress from the tailor. He then took the matter before a magistrate; and on the judge's questioning him as to the character of the wheat and what was in it, Logan sought in vain to find words to express the precise nature of the article with which the wheat was adulterated, but said that it resembled in appearance the wheat itself. 'It must have been cheat,' said the judge. 'Yoh,' said Logan, 'that very good name for him.' A decision was awarded in Logan's favor, and a writ given to Logan to hand to the constable, which, he was told, would bring him the money for his skins. But the untutored Indian, too uncivilized to be dishonest, could not comprehend by what magic this little paper would force the tailor against his will to pay for the skins. The judge took down his own commission, with the arms of the King upon it, and explained to him the first principles and operations of the civil law. 'Law good,' said Logan, 'makes rogues pay.' But how much more simple and efficient was the law which the Great Spirit had impressed upon his heart, 'to do as he would be done by.'

"When a sister of Mrs. Norris (afterwards Mrs. Gen. Potter) was just beginning to learn to walk her mother happened to express her regret that she could not get a pair of shoes to give more firmness to her little step. Logan stood by but said nothing. He soon after asked Mrs. Brown to let the little girl go up and spend the day at his cabin. The cautious heart of the mother was alarmed at such a proposition; but she knew the delicacy of an Indian's feelings, and she knew Logan too, and with secret reluctance but apparent cheerfulness she complied with his request.

The hours of the day wore very slowly away, and it was nearly night when her little one had not returned. But just as the sun was going down the trusty chief was seen coming down the path with his charge, and in a moment more the little one trotted into her mother's arms, proudly exhibiting a beautiful pair of moccasins on her little feet—the product of Logan's skill.

“Logan's whole family was barbarously murdered, without the least provocation, by some white savages who had no respect for law or humanity.

“Mr. Jefferson has caused to be perpetuated the words of Logan to a messenger from Lord Dunmore in 1774, which is said to be unsurpassed for eloquence. They are: ‘I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, Logan is the friend of white men. I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance; for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace, but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.’

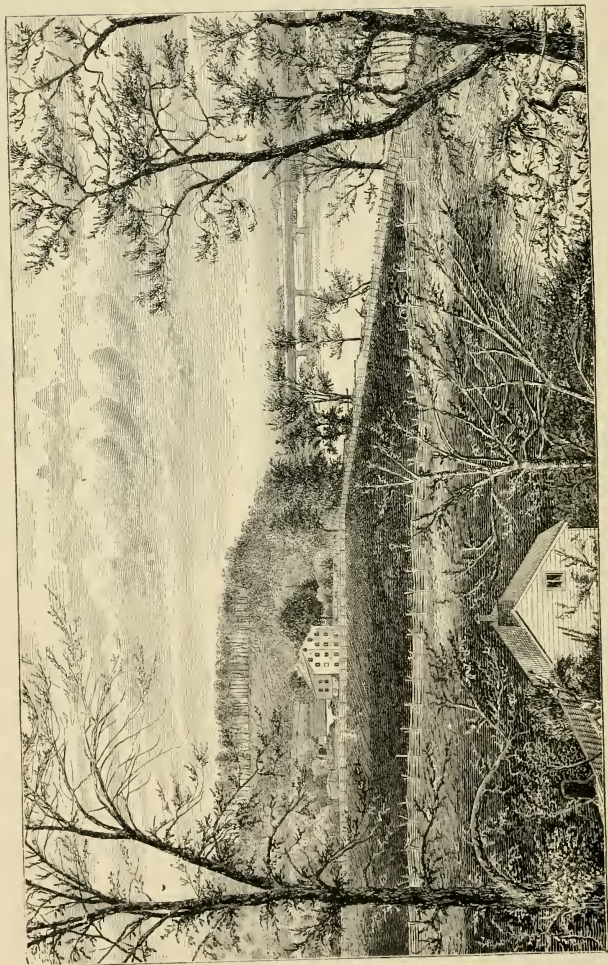
“Logan gave himself up to intoxication.

“As to the revenge he refers to, the murder of his family brought on the Indian war; many very prominent officers and men among the whites were killed. In one battle there were engaged eleven hundred of the whites and possibly three thousand Indians. In the Book of the Indians it says, ‘The whole line of the breastwork now became a blaze of fire, which lasted nearly to the close of the day. Here the Indians under Logan, Cornstock, Flinipsico, Red Eagle and other mighty chiefs of the tribes of the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes, Wyandots and Cayugas, amounting, as was supposed, to three thousand warriors, fought as men will ever do for their country's wrongs with a bravery

which could only be equalled. The voice of the mighty Cornstock was often heard during the day, above the din of strife, calling on his men in these words, 'Be strong! Be strong!' And when by the repeated charges of the whites some of his warriors began to waver he is said to have sunk his tomahawk into the head of one who was cowardly endeavoring to desert.'

"In this battle seventy-five white men were killed and one hundred and forty wounded.

"Logan was over six feet in height and well proportioned. In October, 1781, while on his way home from Detroit he was sitting with his blanket over his head when an Indian who had taken some offence stole behind him and buried a tomahawk in his brain."



The Town Where Shikellimy Dwelt.

CHAPTER IX.

INDIAN TRADITIONS.

IN STUDYING the Indian question several important particulars are to be borne in mind. There were many tribes of Indians who cherished a spirit of rivalry that developed into the most savage and destructive enmity. In the development of this antagonism one tribe would become the ally of the foes of the other tribe, and thus indirectly seek the ruin of their rivals. The Delaware Indians and the Iroquois, or Six Nations, were rivals. Each party claimed to possess superiority originally, and the historian can hardly decide the question. The Delawares claimed that they were superior to the Iroquois until the Dutch by a shrewd political proposition weakened them and gave the advantage to the Iroquois. This bred a bitter hatred. It allied the Iroquois to the Dutch and enabled them to reap the advantage through their fur trade at Albany, their most famous outpost in the Indian trade.

Penn made his famous treaty with the Delawares, and this was the tribe with whom the Moravians were so signally successful.

In the land frauds by the Proprietary Government the English took every kind of advantage of the Delawares. Embittered by the loss of their lands and the deceit of the English the Delawares united with the French and waged a terrible and cruel war against the entire line of the frontier. The Governor of the province found it worth his while to conciliate and make a treaty with Teedyuscung, the shrewd, eloquent and powerful king of the Delawares.

The Iroquois became the allies of the English and opposed the French and also the Delawares. Taking advantage of the co-operation of the English they insulted the Delawares and compelled them to remove from their old homes to places farther in the interior where the Iroquois could strike them more easily.

In the Revolution the Iroquois remained the allies of the

English and spread most horrible desolation over the homes of the American patriots.

*Indian Tradition concerning the Origin of the Five Nations.
By Cannassatego.*

“When our good Manitta raised Akanishionegy out of the great waters he said to his brethren, ‘How fine a country this is! I will make red men—the best of men—to enjoy it.’ Then with five handfuls of red seeds like the eggs of flies did he strow the fertile fields of Onondago. Little worms came out of the seeds and penetrated the earth when the spirits who had never yet seen the light entered into and united with them. Manitta watered the earth with his rain, the sun warmed it, the worms with the spirits in them grew putting forth little arms and legs and moved the light earth that covered them. After nine moons they came forth perfect boys and girls. Manitta covered them with his mantle of warm purple cloud and nourished them with milk from his finger ends. Nine summers did he nurse them, and nine summers more did he instruct them how to live. In the meantime he had made for their use trees, plants, and animals of various kinds. Akanishionegy was covered with woods and filled with creatures. Then he assembled his children together and said: ‘Ye are five nations for ye sprang each from a different handful of the seed I sowed; but ye are all brethren, and I am your father, for I made ye all; I have nursed and brought you up. Mohocks, I have made you bold and valiant, and see, I give you corn for your food. Oneidas, I have made you patient of pain and of hunger, the nuts and fruits of the trees are yours. Senecas, I have made you industrious and active, beans do I give you for nourishment. Cayugas, I have made you strong, friendly and generous, ground nuts and every root shall refresh you. Onondagoes, I have made you wise, just and eloquent, squashes and grapes have I given you to eat and tobacco to smoke in council. The beasts, birds and fishes have I given you in common. As I have loved and taken care of you all so do you love and take care of one another. Communicate freely to each other the good things I have given you, and learn to imitate each other’s virtues. I have made you the best people in the world, and I give you the best country. You will defend it from the invasions of other

nations, from the children of other Manittas, and keep possession of it for yourselves while the sun and moon give light and the waters run in the rivers. This you shall do if you observe my words. Spirits, I am now about to leave you. The bodies I have given you will in time grow old and wear out so that you will be weary of them; or, from various accidents they may become unfit for your habitation and you will leave them. I cannot remain here always to give you new ones. I have great affairs to mind in distant places and I cannot again attend to the nursing of children. I have enabled you therefore among yourselves to produce new bodies to supply the place of old ones, that every one of you when he parts with his old habitation may in due time find a new one and never wander longer than he chose under the earth deprived of the light of the sun. Nourish and instruct your children as I have nourished and instructed you. Be just to all men and kind to strangers that come among you. So shall you be happy and be loved by all, and I myself will sometimes visit and assist you.'

"Saying this he wrapped himself in a bright cloud and went like a swift arrow to the sun where his brethren rejoiced at his return. From thence he often looked at Akanishionegy and pointing showed with pleasure to his brothers the country he had formed and the nations he had produced to inhabit it."

Origin of the Five Nations.

By some inducement a body of people was concealed in the mountain at the falls named Kuskehsawkich (now Oswego), When the people were released from the mountain they were visited by Tarenyawagon, that is, the Holder of the Heavens, who had power to change himself into various shapes; he ordered the people to proceed toward the sunrise, as he guided them and came to a river named Yenonanatche, that is, going round a mountain (now Mohawk), and went down the bank of the river and came to where it discharges into a great river running toward the mid-day sun; and named Shaw-nay-taw-ty, that is, beyond the Pineries (now Hudson), and went down the bank of the river and touched the bank of a great water. The company made encampment at the place and remained there a few days. The people were yet in one language; some of the people

went on the banks of the great water towards the mid-day sun; but the main company returned as they came, on the bank of the river, under the direction of the Holder of the Heavens. Of this company there was a particular body which called themselves one household; of these were six families and they entered into a resolution to preserve the chain of alliance which should not be extinguished in any manner.

The company advanced some distance up the river of Shaw-nay-taw-ty, the Holder of the Heavens directs the first family to make their residence near the bank of the river, and the family was named Te-haw-re-ho-geh, that is, a speech divided (now Mohawk), and their language was soon altered; the company then turned and went towards the sun setting and travelled about two days and a half, and came to a creek which was named Kaw-na-taw-te-ruh, that is, Pineries. The second family was directed to make their residence near the creek, and the family was named Ne-haw-re-tah-go, that is, Big Tree (now Oneidas), and likewise their language was altered. The company continued to proceed towards the sun setting under the direction of the Holder of the Heavens. The third family was directed to make their residence on a mountain named Onandago and the family was named Seuh-now-kah-tah, that is, carrying the name, and their language was altered. The company continued their journey towards the sun setting. The fourth family was directed to make their residence near a long lake named Go-yo-goh, that is, a mountain rising from water (now Cayuga), and the family was named Sho-ne-na-we-to-wah, that is, a great pipe; their language was altered. The company continued to proceed toward the sun setting. The fifth family was directed to make their residence near a high mountain, or rather mole, situated south of the Canandagua lake, which was named Jenneatowake, and the family was named Te-how-ne-na-nyo-lhent, that is, possessing a door (now Seneca), and their language was altered. The sixth family went with the family that journeyed toward the sun setting and touched the bank of a great lake and named Kau-ha-gwa-fah-ka, that is, a cat (now Erie), and then went towards between the mid-day and the sun setting, and travelled a considerable distance, and came to a large river which was named Ouau-we-yo-ka, that is, a principal stream (now Mississippi); the people discovered a grape vine lying across the river by which a part of the

people went over, but while they were engaged, the vine broke, and were divided, they became enemies to those who went over the river; in consequence they were obliged to disperse the journey. The Holder of the Heavens instructs them in the use of the bows and arrows in the time of game and danger. Associates were dispersed and each family went to search for residences according to the conveniences of game. The sixth family went towards the sun-rise and touched the bank of the great water. The family was directed to make their residence near Cau-ta-noh, that is, Pine in water, situated near the mouth of Nuse river, now in North Carolina, and the family was named Kau-ta-noh, now Tuscarora, and their language was also altered; but the six families did not go so far as to lose the understanding of each other's language. The Holder of the Heavens returns to the five families and forms the mode of confederacy, which was named Ggo-nea-seab-neh, that is, a Long House.

By the figure of a Long House the Iroquois meant to denote the confederated frame-work of the League. By a great tree planted they symbolized its deep seated natural power, one in blood and lineage, and its overshadowing influence and permanency. To assail such a combination of stout hearts, nature they thought must send forth the stoutest and most appalling objects of her creation.

The first enemy that appeared to question their power or disturb their peace, was the fearful phenomenon Ko-nea-rau-neh-neh, or the flying heads. These heads were enveloped in a beard and hair flaming like fire; they were of monstrous size and shot through the air with the velocity of meteors. Human power was not adequate to cope with them. The priests pronounced them an emanation of some mysterious influence and it remained with the priests alone to exorcise them by their arts. Drum, and rattle, and incantation were deemed more effective than arrow or club. One evening after they had been plagued a long time with this fearful visitation, the flying head came to the door of a lodge occupied by a single female and her dog. She was sitting composedly before the fire roasting acorns which, as they became done, she deliberately took from the fire and ate. Amazement seized the flying head, who put out two huge black paws from beneath his streaming beard. Supposing the woman to be eating live coals, he withdrew, and from that time he came no more

among them. His withdrawal was followed by the appearance of the great On-yar-he, or lake serpent which traversed the country, and by coiling himself in leading positions near the paths, interrupted the communication between the towns. He created terror wherever he went, and diffused a poisonous breath.

While this enemy yet remained in the land, and they were counselling about the best means of killing him or driving him away, the country was invaded by a still more powerful enemy, namely the Ot-ne-yar-heh, or stonish giants. They were a powerful tribe from the wilderness, tall, fierce and hostile, and resistance to them was vain. They defeated and overwhelmed an army which was sent out against them, and put the whole country in fear. These giants were not only of prodigious strength, but they were cannibals devouring men, women and children in their inroads.

It is said by the Shawanese that they were descended from a certain family which journeyed from the east side of the Mississippi after the vine broke and they went towards the northwest. Abandoned to wandering and the hardships of the forest they forgot the rules of humanity and began at first to eat raw flesh and next men. They practiced rolling themselves in the sand and by this means their bodies were covered with hard skin so that the arrows of the Iroquois only rattled against their rough bodies and fell at their feet. And the consequence was that they were obliged to hide in caves and glens, and were brought in subjection by these fierce invaders for many winters.

At length the Holder of the Heavens visited his people, and finding that they were in great distress he determined to grant them relief and rid them entirely of these barbarous invaders. To accomplish this he changed himself into one of these giants, and brandishing his heavy club led them on under the pretence of finding the Akonoshioni. When they had got near to their stronghold at Onondaga, night coming on, he bade them lie down in a hollow, telling them that he would make the attack at the customary hour at day-break. But at day-break, having ascended a height he overwhelmed them with a vast mass of rocks, where their forms may yet be seen. Only one escaped to carry the news of their dreadful fate, and he fled towards the north. They were thus relieved, and began to live in more security, but the great Onyarhe was yet in the country. Alarmed by what

Tarenyawagon had done to relieve his people, and fearing for himself, he withdrew to the lakes where he and his brood were destroyed with thunderbolts, or compelled to retire to deep water.

The Five Families were so much molested with giants and monsters that they were compelled to build forts to protect themselves. The manner of doing it was this: They built fires against trees and then used their stone axes to pick off the charred part; in this way by renewing the fire they soon felled them; and the fallen trunks were burned off in suitable lengths the same way, and then set up according to the size and plan of the fort, a bank of earth being piled outside and inside. They left two gates, one to get water, and the other as a sally port.

For some time after the great Onyarhe had left the country they had peace; but in after years a still more terrific enemy came. It had a man's head in the body of a serpent. This terrific form took his position on the path between the Onondagas and Cayugas, and thus cut off all intercourse between their towns, for this was also the great thoroughfare of the Five Nations. The bravest warriors were mustered to attack him with spears, darts and clubs. They approached him on all sides with yells. A terrible battle ensued; the monster raged furiously, but he was at last pierced in a vital place and finally killed. This triumph was celebrated in songs and dances, and the people were consoled. They hunted again in peace, but after a time rumors began to be rife of the appearance of an extraordinary and ferocious animal in various places under the name of the great O-yal-kher, or mammoth bear. One morning while a party of hunters were in their camp near the banks of a lake in the Oneida country, they were alarmed by a great tumult breaking out from the lake. Going to see the cause of this extraordinary noise, they saw the monster on the bank rolling down stones and logs into the water, and exhibiting the utmost signs of rage. Another great animal of the cat kind, with great paws, came out of the water, and seized the bear. A dreadful fight ensued; in the end the bear was worsted and retired horribly lamed. The next day the hunters ventured out to the spot where they found one of the fore legs of the bear. It was so heavy that two men were required to lift it, but they found it was palatable food and made use of

it, for their warriors believe that it inspires courage to eat of fierce and brave animals.

After a while a great pestiferous and annoying creature of the insect tribe appeared about the forts at Onondaga, in the guise of the *Ge-ne-un-dah-sais-ke*, or huge mosquito. It flew about the fort with vast wings, making a loud noise with a long stinger, and on whomsoever it lighted it sucked out his blood and killed him. Many warriors were killed in this way, and all attempts made to subdue it were abortive till Tarenyawagon, the Holder of the Heavens, was on a visit one day to the ruler of the Onondagas. The giant mosquito happened to come flying about the fort as usual at this time. Tarenyawagon attacked it, but such was its rapidity of flight that he could scarcely keep in sight of it. He chased it around the border of the great lakes towards sun-setting, and around the great country at large east and west. At last he overtook it and killed it near *Gen-an-do-a*, or the salt lake of Onondaga. From the blood flowing out on this occasion the present species of small mosquitoes originated.

It appears from the best authorities that the first inhabitants of the ancient valley of Anahuac or Mexico came from the north. According to the historian Sahagun, these early inhabitants were Toltecs. They lived first at Tullantzinco, and thence migrated to Tulla. They had for their god, Quetzalcoatl, whom they regarded as their teacher in arts and learning. They traced to him their progress in power and civilization; he rendered them superior to other men in war and cultivation, and as he was deemed both a god and a man, they appealed to him as a divine director as well as their leader and founder. They also had in after times a king, or a ruling priest of the same name. By the counsel of the former they left Tulla and travelled eastward till they found a place called Tlapallan, or the city of the sun. This city they in process of time condemned and destroyed. Having done this they went and founded the celebrated town of Cholula—still known for the ruins of its magnificent terraced pyramid. Thus far Quetzalcoatl, under whom they had risen to power, abode with them, and having accomplished the object of his care it was in this quarter that he left them and disappeared. He was, however, expected to re-appear, and this belief was preserved up to the time of the conquest of the country by Cortez, whom the Aztecs at first mistook for their benefactor.

It is remarkable that we find in the dim vista of Iroquois tradition a counterpart of this story of Quetzalcoatl, differing chiefly in the name of the individual, and some of the incidents to whom the bold northern clans ascribed their early power and supremacy, and in the extent to which he was supposed to have carried them in arts, arms and exploits.

Terenyawagon, as the name is written by Cusick, united in one person the powers of a god and a man, and while they gave him the expressive name of the "Holder of the Heavens," denoting the highest degree of sustaining power, he appeared only in the form of a man and taught them hunting, gardening, the knowledge of medicine, and the art of war. He extricated them from the spot of their subterraneous confinement, not far inland from the borders of one of the great lakes. He imparted to them the knowledge of the laws and government of the Great Spirit, and gave them directions and encouragement how to fulfill their duties and obligations. He gave them corn and beans, and fruits of various kinds, with the knowledge of planting these fruits. He taught them how to kill and roast game. He made the forests free to all the tribes to hunt, and removed obstructions from the streams. He took his position some times on the top of high cliffs springing if need were over frightful chasms; and he flew, as it were, over the great lakes in a wonderful canoe of immaculate whiteness and magic power.

Having done this, he came down to terms of closer intimacy with the Onondagas, and resolved to lay aside his divine character, and live among them that he might exemplify the maxims which he had taught. For this purpose he selected a handsome spot of ground on the southern banks of a lake called Te-on-to, being the same sheet of water which in the present area of Western New York is called Cross Lake. Here he built his cabin, and from the shores of this lake he went out to the forest like the rest of his red companions in quest of game and fish. He took a wife of the Onondagas, by whom he had an only daughter, whom he tenderly loved, and most kindly and carefully treated and instructed, so that she was known far and wide as his favorite child and regarded almost as a goddess. The excellence of his character, and his great sagacity and good counsels, led the people to view him with veneration, and they gave him in his sub-lunary character, the name of Hi-a-wat-ha, signifying a very wise

man. People came to consult him from all quarters, and his abode was thronged by all ages and conditions who came for advice. He became the first chief in all the land, and whoever he made his companions and friends, were likewise clothed with the authority of chiefs in the tribe. In this manner all power came naturally into his hands, and the tribe rejoiced that they had so wise and good a man to rule over them. For in those days each tribe was independent of all others; they had not yet formed a league, but fought and warred with each other.

Nothing that belonged to Hiawatha was more remarkable than his magic canoe, which shone with a supernatural lustre, and in which he had performed so many of his extraordinary feats. This canoe was laid aside when he came to fix his residence at Teonto, and never used except for great and extraordinary purposes. When great councils were called and had assembled the wise men to deliberate together, the sacred canoe was carefully lifted from the grand lodge, which formed its resting place; and after these occasions were ended it was as carefully returned to the same receptacle on the shoulders of men who felt honored in being the bearers of such a precious burden. Thus passed away many years, and every year saw the people increasing in numbers, skill, arts and bravery. It was among the Onondagas that Tarenyawagon had located himself, and although he regarded the other tribes as friends and brothers, he had become identified as an adopted member of this particular tribe. Under his teaching and influence they became the first among all the original clans and rose to the highest distinction in every art which was known to, or prized by the Akonoshioni. They were the wisest counsellors, the best orators, the most expert hunters, and the bravest warriors. They also afforded the highest examples of obedience to the laws of the Great Spirit. If offences took place, Hiawatha redressed them, and his wisdom and moderation preserved the tribe from feuds. Hence the Onondagas were early noted among all tribes for their pre-eminence. He appeared to devote his chief attention to them, that he might afterwards make them examples to the others in arts and wisdom. They were foremost in the overthrow of the stone giants, and the killing of the great serpent. To be an Onondaga was the highest honor.

While Hiawatha was thus living in domestic quiet among the people of the hills, and administering their simple government

with wisdom, they became alarmed by the sudden approach of a furious and powerful enemy from the north of the great lakes. As this enemy advanced they made an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children. The villagers fled in a short time before them, and there was no heart in the people to make a stand against such powerful and ruthless invaders. In this emergency they fled to Hiawatha for his advice. He advised them to call a council of all the tribes from the east and west. "For," said he, "Our safety is not alone in the club, and the dart, but in wise counsels." He appointed a place on the banks of the Onondaga lake for the meeting. It was a clear eminence from which there was a wide prospect. Runners were despatched in every direction; and the chiefs, warriors and head men forthwith assembled in great numbers, bringing with them, in the general alarm, their women and children. Fleets of canoes were seen on the bosom of the lake, and every interior war path was kept open by the foot prints of men hurrying to obey the summons of Hiawatha. All but the wise man himself had been there for three days anxiously awaiting the arrival of Hiawatha, when messengers were despatched after him. They found him gloomy and depressed. Some great burden appeared to hang on his mind. He told them that evil lay in his path and that he had a fearful foreboding of ill-fortune. He felt that he was called to make some great sacrifice, but he did not know what it was. Least of all did he think it was to be his daughter. Ever careful of her, he bade her kindly to accompany him. Nothing happened to hinder or at all interrupt their voyage. The talismanic white canoe which held them, glided silently down the deep waters of the Seneca. Not a paddle was necessary to give it impetus, while it pursued the downward course of the stream, till they reached Sohahee or the point of the lake outlet. At this point Hiawatha took his paddle, and gave it impetus against the current until they entered on the bright and level surface of the Onondaga, cradled as this pure sheet of water is, among lofty and far sweeping hills. When the white canoe of the venerable chief appeared, a shout of welcome rang among these hills. The day was calm and serene. No wind ruffled the lake, and scarcely a cloud floated in the sky overhead. But while the wise man was measuring his steps toward the council grounds and up an ascent from the water's edge, a long low sound was heard as if it were caused by the approach

of a violent rushing wind. Instantly all eyes were turned upwards where a small and compact mass of cloudy darkness appeared. It gathered size and velocity as it approached, and appeared to be directed inevitably to fall in the midst of the assembly. Every one fled in consternation but Hiawatha and his daughter. He stood erect with ornaments waving in his frontlet and besought his daughter calmly to await the issue. "For it is impossible," said he, "to escape the power of the Great Spirit; if he has determined our destruction, we cannot by running fly from it." She modestly assented, and they stood together, while horror was depicted in every other face. But the force of the descending body was like that of a sudden storm. They had hardly taken the resolution to halt, when an immense bird with long distended wings came down with a swoop and crushed the daughter to the earth. This gigantic agent of the skies came with such force that the whole assembly felt the shock and were blown back several rods. The girl, who was beautiful in her looks and form, was completely crushed, and the head, beak and neck of the bird were buried in the ground from the mere force of the fall. The very semblance of a human being could not be recognized among the shattered remains of the daughter. These were, however, collected and buried. But Hiawatha was inconsolable for his loss. He grieved sorely day and night; and wore a desponding and dejected countenance. But these were only faint indications of the feelings of his heart. He threw himself on the ground and refused to be comforted. He seemed dumb with melancholy, and the people feared for his life. He spake nothing; he made no answers to questions put him. He laid still like one dead. After several days the council appointed Hosee Noke, a merry-hearted chief, to make a visit to him, and to whisper a speech of consolation in his ears, and to arouse him from his stupor. The result was successful; he approached him with ceremonies and induced him to arise and name a time to meet the council. Yet haggard with grief, he called for refreshments, and ate. He then adjusted his wardrobe and head dress, and went to the council. He drew his robe of wolf skins gracefully around him, and walked to his seat at the head of the assembled chiefs with a majestic step. Stillness and the most fixed attention reigned in the council while the discussion was opened and proceeded. The subject of the invasion was handled by several of the ablest counsellors

and boldest warriors. Various plans were proposed to foil the enemy. Hiawatha listened in silence until all had finished speaking. His opinion was then asked. After a brief allusion to the calamity that had befallen him through the descent of the bird of the Great Spirit, he spoke to the following effect. "I have listened to the words of wise men and brave chiefs. But it is not fitting that we should do a thing of so much importance in haste. It is a subject demanding calm reflection and mature deliberation. Let us postpone the decision for one day. During this time we will weigh well the words of the speakers who have already spoken. If they are good, I will then approve them; if they are not, I will then open to you my plan. It is one which I have reflected on, and feel confident that it will ensure safety."

When another day had expired the council again met. Hiawatha entered the assembly with even more than the ordinary attention, and every eye was fixed upon him when he began his address in the following words: "Friends and brothers, you are members of many tribes. You have come from a great distance. The voice of war has roused you up. You are afraid for your homes, your wives, your children. You tremble for your safety. Believe me, I am one with you. My heart beats with your hearts. We are one. We have one common object. We come to promote the common interest and to determine how this can be best done. To oppose these hordes of northern tribes singly and alone would prove certain destruction. We can make no progress in that way. We must unite ourselves into one common band of brothers. We must have but one voice. Many voices make confusion. We must have one fort, one pipe, one war club. This will give us strength. If our warriors are united they can defeat the enemy and drive them from our land. If we do this we are safe.

"Onondaga, you are the people sitting under the shadow of the great tree whose roots sink deep in the earth, and whose branches spread wide around. You shall be the first nation, because you are warlike and mighty.

"Oneata, and you, the people who recline your bodies against the everlasting stone that cannot be moved, shall be the second nation, because you always give wise counsel.

"And you, the people who have your habitations at the foot of the great mountain and are overshadowed by its crags, shall be the third nation, because you are all greatly gifted in speech.

"And you, the people whose dwelling is in the dark forest, and whose home is ever there, shall be the fourth nation, because of your superior cunning in hunting.

"And you, the people who live in the open country and possess much wisdom, shall be the fifth nation, because you understand better the art of raising corn and beans, and making cabins.

"You, five great and powerful nations, with your tribes, must unite and have one common interest, and no foes shall disturb or subdue you. You, the people who are as the beetle bushes, and you, who are a fishing people, may place yourselves under our protection, and we will defend you. And you of the south, and you of the west may do the same, and we will protect you. We earnestly desire the alliance and friendship of you all.

"Brothers, if we unite in this bond the Great Spirit will smile upon us, and we shall be free, prosperous and happy; but if we remain as we are, we shall be subject to His frown. We shall be enslaved, ruined, perhaps annihilated forever. We may perish, and our names be lost forever.

"Brothers, these are the words of Hiawatha. Let them sink deep in your hearts. I have said it."

A deep and impressive silence followed the delivery of this speech. On the following day the council met to act on it. Deliberation had recommended it as founded in high wisdom. The union of the tribes in one confederacy was discussed, and unanimously adopted. To denote the character and intimacy of the union they employed the figure of a single council house, or lodge, whose boundaries were coextensive with their territories. Hence the name Aquinushioni, who were called Iroquois by the French.

The great bird which fell from heaven brought a precious gift to the warriors in the white plumes which covered it. Every warrior, as he approached the spot where it fell, plucked a feather of snowy whiteness to adorn his brows; and the celestial visitant thus became the means of furnishing the aspirants of military fame with an emblem which was held in the highest estimation. Succeeding generations imbibed the custom from this incident to supply themselves with a plumage approaching it as nearly as possible; they selected the plumes of the white heron.

Hiawatha, the guardian and founder of the league, having now accomplished the will of the Great Spirit, and the withdrawal of his daughter having been regarded by him as a sign that his

mission was ended, he immediately prepared to make his final departure. Before the great council, which had adopted his advice dispersed he arose with a dignified air and addressed them in the following manner :

“ Friends and brothers, I have now fulfilled my mission below. I have taught you arts which you will find useful. I have furnished you seeds and grains for your gardens ; I have removed obstructions from your waters and made the forest habitable by teaching you to expel its monsters ; I have given you fishing grounds and hunting grounds ; I have instructed in the making and using of warlike implements ; I have taught how to cultivate corn. Many other arts and gifts I have been allowed by the Great Spirit to communicate to you. Lastly, I have aided you to form a league of friendship and union. If you preserve this and admit no foreign element of power by the admission of other nations you will always be free, numerous and happy. If other tribes and nations are admitted to your councils they will sow the seeds of jealousy and discord, and you will become few, feeble and enslaved.

“ Friends and brothers, remember these words. They are the last you will hear from the lips of Hiawatha. The great Master of breath calls me to go. I have patiently waited His summons. I am ready to go. Farewell.”

As the voice of the wise man ceased, sweet sounds from the air burst on the ears of the multitude. The whole sky appeared to be filled with melody. And while all eyes were directed to catch glimpses of the sights and enjoy strains of the celestial music that filled the sky, Hiawatha was seen seated in his snow white canoe in the mid-air, rising with every choral chant that burst out. As he rose, the sounds became more soft and faint, till he vanished in the summer clouds, and the melody ceased. Thus terminated the labors and cares of Tarenyawagon, or, the Iroquois Quetzalcoatl.

The word Iroquois is founded on an exclamation, or response, made by the Sachems and warriors, on the delivery to them of an address. The Indians themselves did not use the term, but Ongwe Honwe, or, a people surpassing all others. This was the common term for the red race of this continent which they acknowledge as the equivalent for our word Indian. At what period they confederated we have no means of decid-

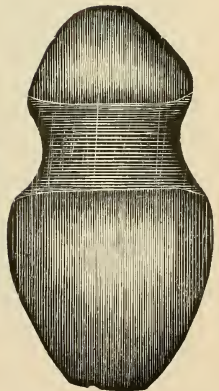
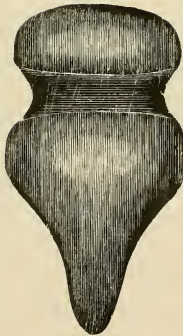
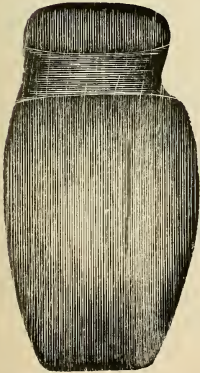
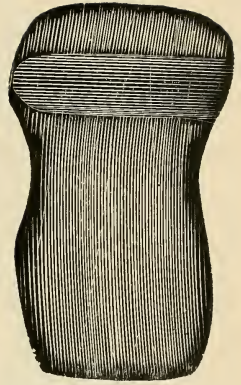
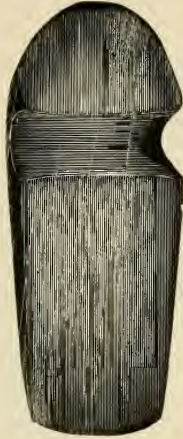
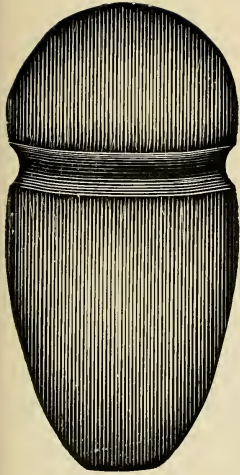
ing. It appears to have been recent judging from traditional testimony. While their advancement in the economy of living, in arms, in diplomacy and in civil polity would lead conjecture to a more remote date. Their own legends, like those of some other leading stocks of the continent, carry them back to a period of wars with giants and demons, and monsters of the sea, the land and the air, and are fraught with strange and grotesque fancies of wizards and enchanters. But history, guiding the pen of the French Jesuit, describes them as pouring in their canoes through the myriad streams that interlace in western New York, and debouching now on the gulf of the St. Lawrence, now on the Chesapeake—glancing again over the waters of Michigan, and now again plying their paddles in the waters of the turbid Mississippi. Wherever they went they carried proofs of their energy, courage and enterprise. At one period we hear the sound of their war cry along the Straits of the St. Marys', and at the foot of Lake Superior. At another, under the walls of Quebec, where they finally defeated the Hurons under the eyes of the French. They put out the fires of the Gahkwas and Eries. They eradicated the Susquehannocks. They placed the Lenapes, the Nanticokes and the Munseys under the yoke of subjection. They put the Metoacs and the Manhattons under tribute. They spread the terror of their arms over all New England. They traversed the whole length of the Appalachian chain, and descended like the enraged yagisho and the megalonyx on the Cherokees and the Catawbias. Smith encountered their warriors in the settlement of Virginia, and La Salle on the discovery of the Illinois. Nations trembled when they heard the name of Nkonoshioni. They possessed a physical structure and they lived in a climate which imparted energy to their motions. They used a sonorous and commanding language which had its dual number and its neuter, masculine and feminine genders. They were excellent natural orators, and expert diplomatists. They began early to cherish a national pride which grew with their conquests. They had, like the Algonquins, in the organization of the several clans or families which composed each tribe, a curious heraldic tie founded on original relationship, which exercised a strong influence but which has never been satisfactorily explained. They were governed by hereditary chieftaincies like others of the aboriginal stocks, but contrary to the usage of

these other stocks the claims of their chiefs were subjected to the decision of a national council. The aristocratic and democratic principles were thus brought into requisition in candidates for office. But in all that constituted national action they were a pure republic. So far was this carried that it is believed the veto of any one chief to a public measure was sufficient to arrest its adoption by the council.

Iroquois tradition opens with the notion that there were originally two worlds or regions of space, namely, an upper and lower world. The upper was inhabited by beings similar to the human race; the lower by monsters moving in the waters. When the human species were transferred below, and the lower sphere was about to be rendered fit for their residence, the act of their transference or reproduction is concentrated in the idea of a female, who began to descend into the lower world, which is depicted as a region of darkness, waters and monsters. She was received on the back of a tortoise where she gave birth to male twins and expired. The shell of this tortoise expanded into the continent, which in their phraseology is called an island, and is named Aoneo. One of the infants was called Inigorio, or the good mind; the other Onigohatea, or the bad mind. These two antagonistic principles were at perpetual variance, it being the law of one to counteract whatever the other one did. They were not, however, men but gods, or existences through whom the Great Spirit, or Holder of the Heavens, carried out his purposes. The first labor of Inigorio was to create the sun out of the head of his dead mother, and the moon and the stars out of the other parts of her body. The light these gave drove the monsters into the deep water to hide themselves. He then prepared the surface of the continent, and fitted it for human habitation, by diversifying it with creeks, rivers, lakes and plains, and by filling these with the various species of the animal and vegetable kingdoms. He then formed a man and woman out of the earth, gave them life, and called them Ea-gwe-ho-we, or, as it is more generally known, Ong-we Hon-we; that is to say, a real people.

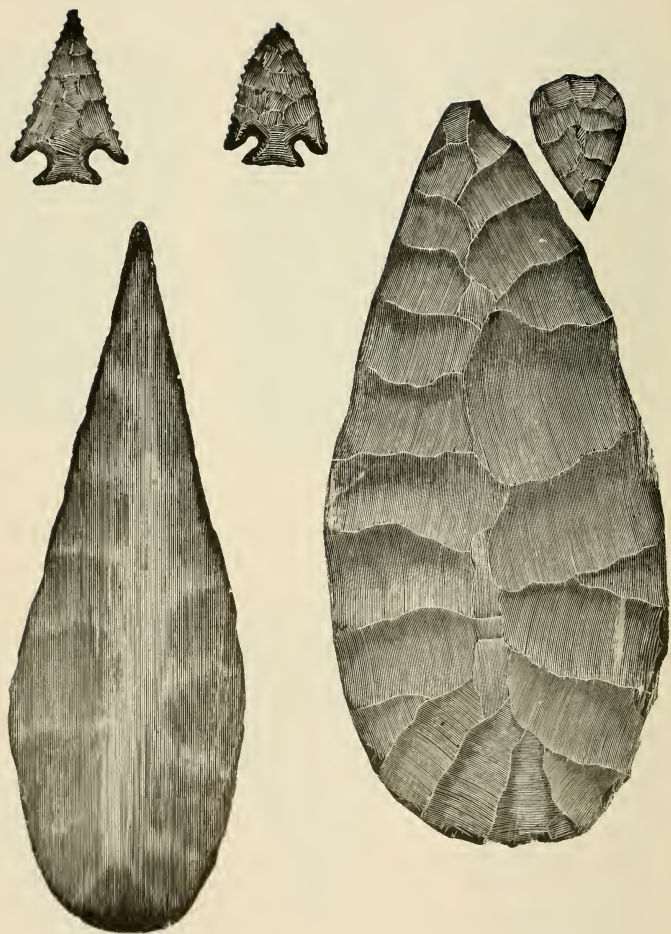
Meanwhile the Bad Mind created mountains, waterfalls and steeps and morasses, reptiles, serpents, apes and other objects supposed to be injurious to or in mockery of mankind. He made attempts also to conceal land animals in the ground, so as to deprive man of the means of subsistence. This continued opposi-

tion to the wishes of the Good Mind, who was perpetually busied in restoring the effects of the displacements and wicked devices of the other, at length led to a personal combat, of which the time and instruments of the battle were agreed on. They fought for two days, the one using deer's horns, and the other flag roots as arms. Inigorio, who had chosen horns, finally prevailed; his antagonist sunk down to a region of darkness and became the Evil Spirit, or Kluneolux, of the world of despair. Inigorio having obtained this triumph retired from the earth.



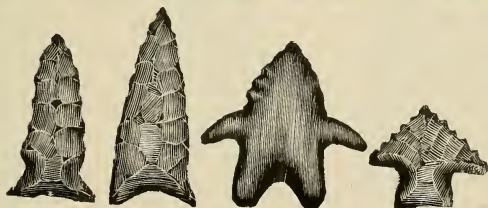
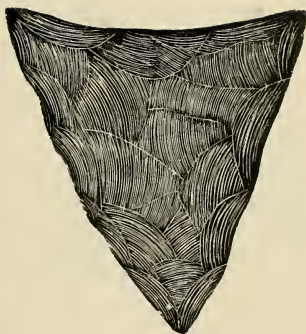
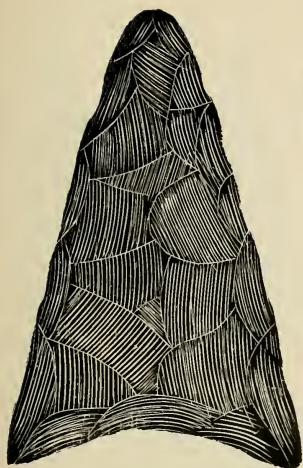
INDIAN AXES, ONE-HALF SIZE OF ORIGINALS.

FROM COLLECTION OF PROF. D. B. BRUNNER, READING, PA.



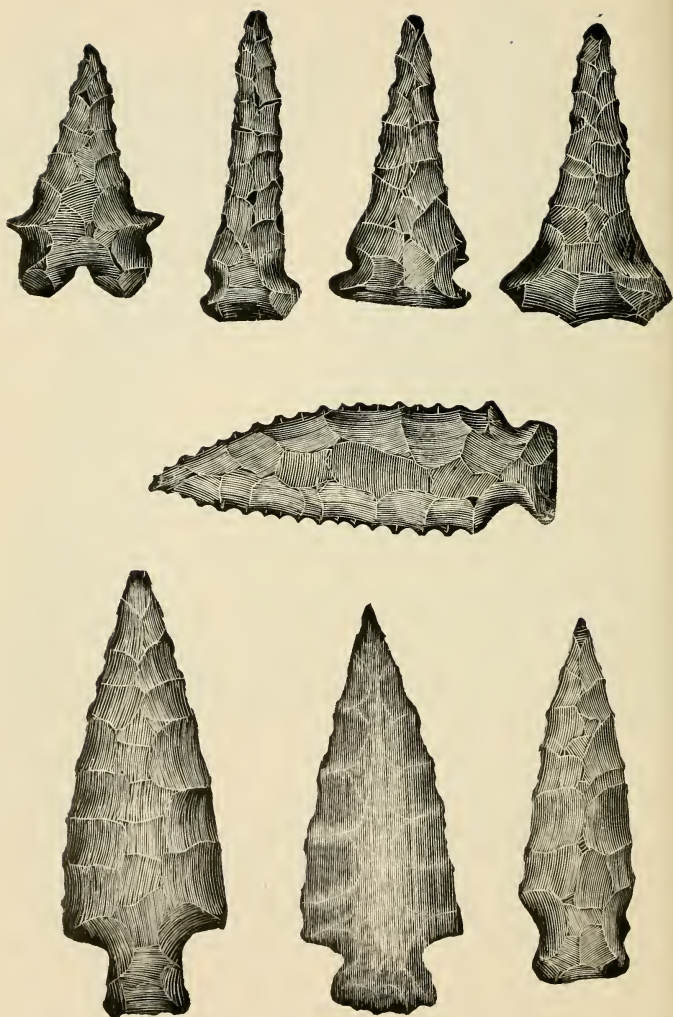
INDIAN KNIVES AND ARROW POINTS.

FROM COLLECTION OF PROF. D. B. BRUNNER, READING, PA.



INDIAN ARROW POINTS.

FROM COLLECTION OF PROF. D. B. BRUNNER, READING, PA.



INDIAN ARROW POINTS.

FROM COLLECTION OF PROF. D. B. BRUNNER, READING, PA.

CHAPTER X.

THE INDIANS ALONG THE SUSQUEHANNA.

The Andastes Indians. By Dr. George C. Wood, of Muncy.

AT THE time the Province of Pennsylvania was granted to William Penn for his colony, he found it occupied by the great Lenni-Lenape tribe and its sub-tribes. Concluding that they owned the land, he made treaties with them for its purchase. Subsequently he discovered that they were merely tenants, as it were, and not the rightful or lawful owners. It seems that at a period in the last century, the Iroquois having their homes in what is now the State of New York, made war upon the Lenni-Lenapes living southward of them, and succeeded, after a desperate struggle, in making a complete conquest. Peace being established, the Iroquois permitted the Lenni-Lenapes to occupy their old country as before as long as they continued to act properly, but they claimed their territory by right of conquest. One provision existed, however, in the position of the Lenni-Lenapes toward their conquerors afterwards, that whilst it must have been irksome to the conquered reflects credit on the Iroquois. It was the submission of the Lenni-Lenape tribes to resident governors, appointed by the Grand Council of the Iroquois. Shikellimy, the chief resident at Shamokin, was one of such deputies, and the most distinguished.

Happily for the Penn treaties the Iroquois were strong friends of the English, and for this reason they allowed the treaties to stand and the whites to occupy the purchased lands. Had they repudiated the purchases, as they had a right to do, Penn would have been compelled to purchase them over again from the rightful owners, especially if he desired to continue his policy of peace.

Tradition tells us that some time during the century previous to the English settling in North America, a great tribe of Indians, called the Andastes, occupied the country on the Sus-

quehanna and Allegheny rivers. The Andastes tribe belonged to the Algonquin family, as also did the Lenni-Lenapes, or Delawares. While the Andastes inhabited the region of country now called Western Pennsylvania, and also its central portion along the Susquehanna river, the Delawares inhabited New Jersey and also that part of Eastern Pennsylvania along the banks of the Delaware river.

The Andastes at the period spoken of were the bitter enemies of the Iroquois. They were spirited, active and brave, the opposite in this respect of their lowland neighbors, the Lenni-Lenapes. The hatred existing between them and the Iroquois was such that their continual war was one of extermination, and as such it was carried on till only a little remnant remained of the Andastes, which fled from their homes and settled near the mouth of the Susquehanna river. They were known by the name of Susquehannocks afterwards, and subsequently Conestoga Indians. The few left in the 17th century were christianized by the Moravians and the Quakers, and on the night of December 14th, 1763, were cruelly murdered in cold blood by the Paxton Boys while taking refuge in the old jail at Lancaster from their fury. Thus perished the last of the Andastes. The manner of their taking off was one of the most atrocious events in the history of those bloody times, and equals, if not excels, any deed ever committed by the Indians. * * * *

The country of the West Branch of the Susquehanna was then in the 16th century occupied by the Andastes, and on their extermination was occupied by the Lenni-Lenapes, Shawanese and Tuscaroras, by the permission of the Iroquois, the latter owning the land by right of conquest.

By Dr. W. H. Egle, State Librarian of Pennsylvania.

When the English first explored the lower Susquehanna they found it inhabited by a race which they called the Susquehannocks. The Dutch, as early as 1615, and the Swedes when they settled in 1638, came in contact with these Susquehannocks and called them Minquas. The line between the Minquas and Delawares seems to have been along the dividing waters between the two rivers, though in wars the Minquas drove the Delawares entirely over into New Jersey. The Minquas were a

ruling tribe on the Delaware as the Mohawks were on the Hudson. From 1640 the Five Nations of New York began to be liberally supplied with fire arms, and they soon devastated the tribes similar to the Minquas on the upper branches of the Susquehanna. Having disposed of these and opened the way, in 1662 they commenced upon the lower Minquas, or Susquehannocks.

Before this, in 1652, the Susquehannocks had sold to Maryland their possession and conquest rights on both sides of the Chesapeake Bay from the Choptawh and Pautuxant rivers to the head of the bay. In 1663 the Marylanders assisted the Minquas with cannon and men in their fort, and defeated an army of eight hundred Senecas and Cayugas. The war was, however, kept up, and finally, after many reverses and successes, in 1675, forsaken by the English who had superceded the Dutch on the Delaware, and by the Marylanders, and reduced by disease the Minquas were conquered, many of them carried off to New York and the balance fled to the Potomac at Piscataway. From this place they were afterward allowed to return to their old country and establish themselves as a tributary outpost of the Five Nations on the Onestego creek, and there subsequently they were known as Conestogas. In this way the New York tribes obtained their conquest rights to the lands on the Susquehanna and southward to the Potomac, which were recognized by the several purchase treaties made with them by William Penn and his heirs. Governor Dongan, of New York, first purchased these Pennsylvania-Susquehanna conquest rights from the Five Nations with a view of holding those parts, at least above the Conawago Falls, as part of New York, and preventing Penn from obtaining the full limits of his charter. When this failed he sold and transferred these deeded rights to Penn in 1696. In 1699 Penn again purchased from the remaining Conestogas all their rights and the rights of their ancestors, and, as he aptly expresses it, the rights that their ancestors have, could, might or ought to have had, held or enjoyed in these lands. In 1701 this purchase was again confirmed in the presence of an Onondaga deputy, and a promise made then that they should have a reservation, which was in fact afterwards surveyed to them in 1718. Here the dwindling remnant remained until the massacre in 1763.

Prior to this their young men gravitated to the New York cantons, mostly among the Oneidas, as this course afforded the only opening for martial renown—for an Indian is nothing if not a warrior. Among these descendants of the ancient Susquehannocks who attended the Lancaster treaty in 1744 was Shikellimy—more properly Shickeny—who hesitated about signing the deed to Maryland, which Marshe blamed on the Pennsylvanians. When the Conestoga Manor was surveyed in 1718, they run a line round them that none might come near them, and though at that time the Indians had expressed a willingness to retire from Conestoga, yet the Government here persuaded them to continue near us, and they appeared very well pleased with the inclosing by surveys the lands where they are seated.

The Dutch, Swedes and English made purchases from the Delawares on the west bank of their river. The western limits were not given, or were vaguely defined. There are some representations of such purchases extending to the Susquehanna; but the Delawares had no rights to lands on that river, and probably never made such sales. Penn thought he had extinguished the Indian title to the Susquehanna lands through his purchase from Dongan, and in satisfying the resident Conestogas; and there can be no doubt that the New York Indians were satisfied and for many years made no claims. But the older ones died, and the younger ones at length set up a claim that they had not been paid for their conquest lands on the Susquehanna. In the meantime many settlers had moved upon these lands. The Cayugas were the most persistent and annoying in pressing their claims. At length on October 11th, 1736, these lands, as far west as the Blue Mountain range, and eastward to the head springs flowing into the Susquehanna, were again purchased at a treaty in Philadelphia. After this treaty adjourned and some of the delegates had gone home, an after thought came to the proprietary party. As the Six Nations seemed to be setting up unexpected claims of conquest rights, it was thought it would be a good plan to get a release from them to all the lands eastward as far as the Delaware. This was a most transparent falsehood. Not until white means black can eastward limits on the head of streams running into the Susquehanna be defined as intended to extend to the Delaware. There is not a particle of evidence that the Six Nations, prior to this, claimed the right to sell the lands

of the Delawares. It is true the Delawares were a conquered tributary people, but this in Indian politics did not mean always a right to alienate the soil.

Land selling was indeed an European innovation, the full meaning of which the Indians were slow to realize. As long as they sold and still occupied nearly all of it the sale meant little; when it meant dispossession then trouble ensued. Occupancy was the only soil right that the Indian knew before the presents at treaties gave them the land-selling itch. This supplementary-explanatory deed dated October 25th, 1736, fourteen days after the other, was not for sale of land that they claimed, but was given at the request of the white men to cover or prevent any claims the Six Nations might set up to the lands already purchased of the Delawares. It was also used, and perhaps designed to be used, in 1742, to induce the Six Nations to interfere and force the Delawares to leave some of these lands as comprised in the walking purchase. Canasatego's speech, in ordering the Delawares to leave these lands, is famous in history and aroused the dormant resentment of the Delawares. * * *

* It was during the pending of these troubles that the treaty was held at Lancaster, in 1744, about lands in Maryland and Virginia, when not a Delaware was allowed to be present.

It is a remarkable fact which has hitherto been unnoticed, that in the great wars of the western cantons of the Five Nations against the Susquehannocks, which were waged chiefly about 1666 and 1675, the Mohawks took no part, nor did there a single Mohawk appear at the treaty in Philadelphia in 1686 when the sale of these conquest rights was made to the Penns. Nor did there appear a single Mohawk at Lancaster when the claims of similar rights were to be disposed of to Maryland, and other claims to lands in Virginia. They had nothing to do in conquering the Minquas and they would have nothing to say in selling their lands. The explanation of this is no doubt to be found in the special examination of Governor Andras, who in 1675 did endeavor to be rightly informed of things relating to that war, and found that the Susquehannocks were reputed by the Maquas (Mohawks) as their offspring. There can be no doubt that the Susquehanna Minquas were an old diverging branch of the Mohawks, and there was an old friendship which forbade them to war against their kindred, and yet the laws of the Five Nations'

confederacy forbade also any assistance. The absent nation for whom Conrad Weiser was authorized by the allies to sign his name at the Lancaster treaty was the Mohawks, into which Weiser had been adopted.

As early as 1736, at the treaty, the Governor of Pennsylvania was earnestly pressed that he would write to the Governors of Maryland and Virginia, to make them (the Western New York Indians) satisfaction for their lands in those States. They say all the lands on the Susquehanna and at Chenandiah were theirs and they must be satisfied for them. In reply it was remarked to them that the lands on Susquehanna, we believe, belong to the Six Nations by the conquest of the Indians on that river, but how their pretensions are to be made good to the lands to the southward we know not.

At the treaty on July 7th, 1742, Canasatego again introduced their claims to lands in Maryland, desiring to know what had been done in the matter, saying, "You will inform the person whose people are seated on our lands that that country belongs to us in right of conquest—we have bought it with our blood, and taken it from our enemies in fair war; we expect such consideration as the land is worth; press him to send us a positive answer; let him say yes or no; if he says yes, we will treat with him; if no, we are able to do ourselves justice, and we will do it by going to take payment on ourselves."

These alarming words caused a special messenger to be sent to Maryland, and measures were taken for the treaty, which came off at Lancaster in 1744. Though nothing was said in 1742 about Virginia, yet the demand in 1736 and the prospect of a war with France, induced the King and his Virginia colony to treat with these Indians at the same time and place. Conrad Weiser was sent to Onondaga to make the arrangements. There was a shrewd purpose in the background to use the occasion to prevent them from espousing the cause of France, and the Pennsylvania Colonial Records show how nicely it was managed—Pennsylvania having in 1737 met the demands of these Indians as to their claim on the lands in that province below the mountains, was in a position to act as a go-between and secure their friendship to Maryland and Virginia, and all three were alike interested in view of the coming troubles with France, and her Cana-

dian Provinces. At the treaty the Marylanders denied their right to land in that province, and pointed to their deed of purchase from the Susquehannocks in 1652 as covering all or nearly all their lands. The reply was very well put "We acknowledge the deed to be good and valid, and that the Conestoga or Susquehanna Indians had a right to sell those lands unto you, for they were then theirs; but since that time we have conquered them, and their country now belongs to us, and the lands we demanded satisfaction for are no part of the lands comprised in those deeds—they are the Cohogononta's (Potomac) lands." This is one of the proofs that the territory of the ancient Susquehannocks extended to the Potomac, probably from the falls up to Harper's Ferry. The old Maryland purchase was not defined in its western limits, and certainly did not include a part of Maryland north of the head of the bay. Just prior to their subjugation by the New York Indians the Susquehannocks had somehow got into a war with their old friends in Maryland and suffered greatly. * * * * At the treaty the eastern bounds were not defined. They wanted pay and having got it they cared nothing further about the grounds of their claim nor how it was divided between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The claim for pay for Virginia was not founded on the conquest of the Susquehannas, but upon other tribes.

The Virginians claimed that they had long held peaceable possession and that they found those lands uninhabited and free to be entered upon by their King. They said: "Tell us what Nations you conquered any lands from in Virginia; how long it is since, and what possession you have had." The answer was: "We have the right of conquest—a right too dearly purchased and which cost us too much blood to be given up without any reason at all. * * * * All the world knows we conquered the several nations living on the Susquehanna, Cohongoronto, and on the back of the great mountains in Virginia. The Conoy-uch-such-roonan, the Coch-nan-was-roonan, the Tokoa-irough-roonan and the Connut-skirr-ough-roonan feel the effects of our conquest being now a part of our nations and their lands at our disposal. They said it was not true that the King of England had conquered the Indians that lived there. We will allow that they have conquered the Sachdagugh-roonan (Powhatans) and drove back the Tuscarrorras and that they have on that account a

right to some part of Virginia; but as to what lies beyond the mountain we conquered the nations residing there, and that land, if ever the Virginians get a good right to it, it must be by us." *

* * *

Pennsylvania never called in question these conquest rights. Had they done so at the several treaties for Susquehanna lands, the Indians would then doubtless have given us some interesting facts as to those conquests which are now forever lost.

Zinzendorf's Observations of the Indians.

"The savages in Canada are thought to be partly mixed Scythians and partly Jews of the ten lost tribes, which through the great Tartarian wilderness wandered hither by way of hunting, and so they came farther and farther into the country. The reason why they make this conjecture is: 1. Because they are not black as they of Florida, Mexico, &c., but they are white, and have only that yellow color prophesied in Deuteronomy (Deut. 28, 22.) 2. They have Jewish customs. 3. They call their enemies and strangers Assaroni, for a remembrance of the Assyrians, by whom their fathers were turned out. 4. Achsa, Onas, and innumerable other words are pure Hebrew, or at least so far as the English, Swedish, Dutch, Norway and Danish tongue are German. 5. Notwithstanding they have many wives their families are yet so small that the Five Nations are altogether hardly so many as there are sometimes in a large village in our country; which agreeth a great deal better with Deuteronomy than with the nature of the barbarous nations who commonly multiply themselves in many thousands far beyond the Europeans.

"'But they have been foretold so.' (Deut. 28, 62.) Therefore, one believes that some one hundred years ago five or six men or women lost themselves hither, each of whom by and by became a nation, who, because of the curse resting on them, consumed themselves so that none of them surpassed the number of two thousand persons, yea, some of them are a few hundred. And these nations are five. The French call them Irokois, but they call themselves Aquanuskion, or the Covenant people.

"A. 1. The Maquas, whose language is the nearest to the Hebrew, is the chiefest of their nations according to dignity; yet

in Reuben's way, that is, despised because of their levity and paid off with the title. Yet their language goes throughout.

" 2. The Onondagos are the chief nation in reality—the Judah amongst their brethren.

" 3. The Senecas are the most in number.

" These three nations are called the fathers. Many of the first are English Presbyterian. The second sort remains heathens, and reason in a philosophical manner of the nature of the gods with Cicero. The last are superstitious Cross and Rose-cranz bearers. (The Christianizing of the Iroquois became the object of the Jesuits in Canada in 1642. The Dutch who colonized those parts did not give the subject much consideration.)

" 4. The Oneidas, and 5, Cayugas are their children. They must respect them, and have also children's right.

" B. The Gibeonites, or water bearers, are people gathered on the rivers, as the Gypsies, and a good part of them are Europeans. 1. Canistokas. 2. Mahikans, of whom our congregation consists (vide I. Cor., chap. 1). 3. Hurons, or Delaware Indians. These must call the other Uncles and are called Cousins.

" C. The Floridians are confederates, and the Tuscaroras are called Brothers.

" D. The captives are well kept and become in time Cousins.

" Concerning the enemies, it comes in my mind whether they (except the Europeans) are not Scythians, Idumeans, Arabians, Gypsies, &c., with whom they continually quarrel, and cannot bear them amongst them."

CHAPTER XI.

TRAITS OF INDIAN CHARACTER.

IN 1683 M. DeLabarre, the Governor General of Canada, marched with an army against the Indian cantons. He landed near Oswego, but finding himself incompetent to meet the enemy, he instituted a negotiation and demanded a conference. On this occasion Garangula, an Onondaga chief, attended in behalf of his country, and made the reply here given. The French retired from the country in disgrace.

Monsieur DeLabarre said: "The King, my master, being informed that the Five Nations had often infringed the peace, has ordered me to come hither with a guard, and to send Ohguesse to the Onondagas to bring the chief sachems to my camp. The intention of the great King is, that you and I may smoke the calumet of peace together; but on this condition, that you promise me, in the name of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Mohawks, to give entire satisfaction and reparation to his subjects, and for the future never to molest them.

"The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks have robbed and abused all the traders that were passing to the Illinois, and Miamies, and other Indian nations, the children of my King; they have acted on these occasions contrary to the treaty of peace with my predecessor. I am ordered, therefore, to demand satisfaction; and to tell them that in case of refusal or their plundering us any more, that I have express orders to declare war. This belt confirms my words. The warriors of the Five Nations have conducted the English into the lakes which belong to the King, my master, and brought the English among the nations that are his children to destroy the trade of his subjects and to withdraw these nations from him. They have carried the English thither notwithstanding the prohibition of the late Governor of New York who foresaw the risk that both they and you would run. I am willing to forget those things; but if ever the like should happen for the future I have express orders

to declare war against you. This belt confirms my words. Your warriors have made several barbarous incursions on the Illinois and the Miamies. They have massacred men, women and children; they have made many of these nations prisoners, who thought themselves safe in their villages in time of peace. These people, who are my King's children, must not be your slaves; you must give them liberty, and send them back into their own country. If the Five Nations shall refuse to do this, I have express orders to declare war against them. This belt confirms my words. This is what I have to say to Garangula, that he may carry to the Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas and Mohawks the declaration which the King, my master, has commanded me to make. He doth not wish them to force him to send a great army to Cadarackui Fort to begin a war which must be fatal to them. He would be sorry that this fort, that was the work of peace, should become the prison of your warriors. We must endeavor on both sides to prevent such misfortunes. The French, who are the brethren and friends of the Five Nations, will never trouble their repose, provided that the satisfaction which I demand be given, and that the treaties of peace be hereafter observed. I shall be extremely grieved if my words do not produce the effect which I expect from them; for then I shall be obliged to join with the Governor of New York, who is commanded by his master to assist me, and burn the castles of the Five Nations, and destroy you. This belt confirms my words."

Garangula, after walking five or six times round the circle, answered the French Governor, who sat in an elbow chair, in the following strain :

"Yonnondio, I honor you, and the warriors that are with me likewise honor you. Your interpreter has finished your speech. I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears; hearken to them.

"Yonnondio, you must have believed when you left Quebec that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflowed the banks that they had surrounded our castles and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, surely you must have dreamt so; and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I and the warriors here present are come to

assure you that the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks are yet alive. I thank you in their name for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet which has been so often dyed in the blood of the French. Hear, Yonnondio, I do not sleep; I have my eyes open, and the sun which enlightens me, discovers to me a great captain at the head of a company of soldiers who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas, but Garangula says that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

"I see Yonnondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit has saved by inflicting this sickness on them. Hear! Yonnondio, our women had taken their clubs, our children and old men had carried their bows and arrows into the heart of your camp if our warriors had not disarmed them and kept them back, when your messenger, Ohguesse, came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it! Hear! Yonnondio, we plundered none of the French but those that carried guns, powder and ball to the Twighties and the Chictaghicks, because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who stove all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beaver enough to pay for all these arms that they have taken; and our old men are not afraid of war. This belt preserves my words. We carried the English into our lakes to trade there with the Utawawas and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacks brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free. We neither depend on Yonnondio nor Corlear. We may go where we please and carry with us whom we please. If your allies be your slaves, use them as such. Command them to receive no other than your people. This belt preserves my words.

"We knocked the Twighties and Chictaghicks on the head because they had cut down the trees of peace which were the limits of our country. They had hunted beaver on our land. They had acted contrary to the custom of all Indians; for they left none of the beavers alive; they killed both male and female.

They brought the Satanah into the country to take part with them, after they had concerted ill designs against us. We have done less than either the English or the French, that have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words.

“Hear! Yonnonadio, what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations; hear what they answer! Open your ears to what they speak! The Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and the Mohawks say, that when they buried the hatchet at Cadarackui in the presence of your predecessor, in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved; that in place of a retreat for soldiers that fort might be a rendezvous for merchants; that in place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandise should only enter there.

“Hear! Yonnonadio, take care of the future, that so great a number of soldiers as appear here do not choke the tree of peace planted in so small a fort. It will be a great loss if after it had so easily taken root you should stop its growth and prevent its covering your country and ours with its branches. I assure you, in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet till their brother Yonnonadio, or Corlear, shall, either jointly or separately endeavor to attack the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words, and this other the authority which the Five Nations have given me.” Then Garungula, addressing himself to Monsieur Le Main, said: “Take courage, Ohguesse, you have spirit, speak—explain my words; forget nothing; tell all that your brethren and friends say to Yonnonadio, your Governor, by the mouth of Garungula, who loves you and desires you to accept of this present of beaver, and take part with me in my feast, to which I invite you. This present of beaver is sent to Yonnonadio on the part of the Five Nations.”

The Six Nations of the Iroquois are admirable warriors in their way, faithful as friends but implacable as foes; and yet even in the latter relation they act honorably. If, for instance, the ambassador of a hostile tribe which has violated national law, appear before the Great Council at Onondaga he pays the penalty of his presumption by suffering summary death. If, however,

he first apply to the Senecas, who control all matters of war, they either furnish him with an escort to the capitol, or else reprimand him as follows: "Your people have been guilty of an unpardonable offence in murdering our ambassador. We could retaliate by taking your life, but this would be base. Begone, therefore, to your country. There we will meet you and chastise you."

These Indians perpetuate the memory of their heroes in heroic poems which are so accurately handed down orally that it is impossible for anyone to boast of feats which he has not performed. The Black Prince of Onondaga is a terrible savage. On one occasion he broke into the stockaded castle of the enemy, scalped the inhabitants and escaped unhurt. While on a visit to Col. Nichols, one of the Colonel's servants poured water on him. With a thrust of his knife the enraged Indian stabbed the man in the stomach so that he fell dead at his feet. Straightway he informed Nichols of what had occurred. "This act," said the later, "would be regarded a capital offence in Europe." "With us," retorted the Prince, "trifling with a warrior is regarded a capital offence, and hence I slew your man. If death is decreed me, here I am; do with me according to your laws." The affair went no farther.

Dr. Franklin's Story of Canasatego.

Conrad Weiser, in going through the Indian country to carry a message from our Governor to the Council at Onondaga, called at the habitation of Canasatego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed and had lit his pipe, Canasatego began to converse with him; asked him how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other; whence he then came; what occasioned the journey. &c. Conrad answered all his questions, and when the discourse began to flag, the Indian to continue it said, "Conrad, you have lived long among the white people, and know something of their customs; I have been sometimes at Albany and have observed that once in seven days they shut up their shops and assemble in the great house; tell me what that is for? What do they do there?" "They meet

there," says Conrad, "to hear and learn good things." "I do not doubt," says the Indian, "that they tell you so; for they have told me the same; but I doubt the truth of what they say, and I will tell you my reasons. I went lately to Albany to sell my skins and buy blankets, knives, powder, rum, &c. You know I used generally to deal with Hans Hanson; but I was a little inclined this time to try some other merchants. However, I called first upon Hans and asked him what he would give for beaver. He said he could not give me more than four shillings a pound; 'but,' says he, 'I cannot talk on business now; this is the day when we meet together to learn good things and I am going to the meeting.' So I thought to myself since I cannot do any business to-day I may as well go to the meeting too, and I went with him. There stood up a man in black, and began to talk to the people very angrily; I did not understand what he said, but perceiving that he looked much at me and at Hanson, I imagined that he was angry at seeing me there; so I went out, sat down near the house, struck fire and lit my pipe, waiting till the meeting should break up. I thought, too, that the man had mentioned something of beaver, and suspected it might be the subject of their meeting. So when they had come out I accosted my merchant. 'Well, Hans,' says I, 'I hope you have agreed to give more than four shillings a pound.' 'No,' says he, 'I cannot give so much. I cannot give more than three shillings sixpence.' I then spoke to several other dealers, but they all sung the same song, 'Three and sixpence! Three and sixpence.' This made it clear to me that my suspicion was right; and whatever they pretended of meeting to learn good things the purpose was to consult how to cheat Indians in the price of beaver. Consider but a little, Conrad, and you must be of my opinion. If they met so often to learn good things, they would certainly have learned some before this time. But they are still ignorant. You know our practice. If a white man in traveling through our country enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I do you; we dry him if he is wet; we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink that he may allay his thirst and hunger; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on; we demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house in Albany and ask for victuals and drink, they say, 'Get out, you Indian dog.' You see they have not yet learned those little good things that we need no meetings

to be instructed in, because our mothers taught them to us when we were children; and therefore it is impossible their meetings should be as they say for any such purpose, or have any such effect; they are only to contrive the cheating of Indians in the price of beaver."

Benjamin Franklin Describes Indian Drunkenness.

"Being commissioned, we went to Carlisle to attend the Council with the Indians. As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and when so are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling of any liquor to them; and when they complained of this restriction, we told them that if they would continue sober during the treaty we would give them plenty of rum when the business was over. They promised this and they kept their promise, because they could get no liquor, and the treaty was conducted very orderly and concluded to mutual satisfaction. Then they claimed and received the rum; this was in the afternoon; they were near one hundred men, women and children, and were lodged in temporary cabins built in the form of a square just without the town. In the evening hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walked out to see what was the matter. We found that they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarrelling and fighting. Their dark colored bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with fire brands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that well could be imagined; there was no appeasing the tumult, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door demanding more rum, of which we took no notice.

"The next day, sensible that they had misbehaved in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counsellors to make their apology. The orator acknowledged the fault but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavored to excuse the rum by saying, 'The Great Spirit who made all things made every thing for some use, and whatever use he designed any thing for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum he said, 'Let this be for the Indian to get drunk with, and it must be

so.' And indeed if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for cultivators of the earth, it seems not improbable that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the sea coast.

"Of the manner in which they have acquired the vice of drunkenness there can be no doubt. They charge us in the most positive manner with being the first who made them acquainted with ardent spirits, and with having exerted all the means in our power to induce them to drink to excess. The processes of fermentation and distillation are entirely unknown to the Indians, and they have no intoxicating liquors but what they have received from us. The Mexicans have their pulque and other indigenous beverages of an inebriating nature, but the North Americans before their intercourse commenced had absolutely nothing of the kind. The smoke of the American weed tobacco was the only means that they at that time had in use to produce a temporary exhilaration of spirits.

"The dreadful war in 1774 between the Shawanese, some of the Mingoës, and the people of Virginia, in which so many lives were lost, was brought on by the consequences of drunkenness. It produced murders which were followed by private revenge, and ended in a most cruel and destructive war.

"The general prevalence of this vice is in a great degree owing to unprincipled white traders who persuade them to become intoxicated that they may cheat them the more easily and obtain their lands or peltry for a mere trifle.

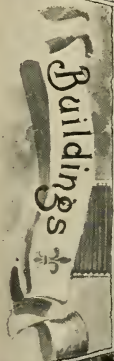
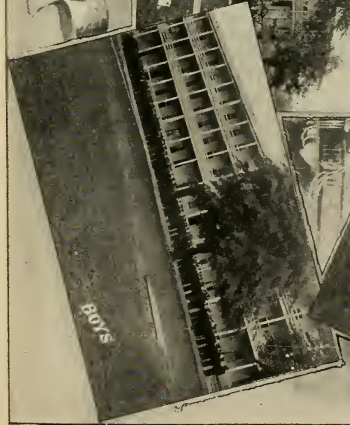
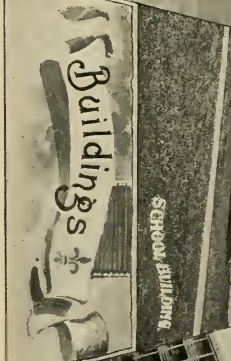
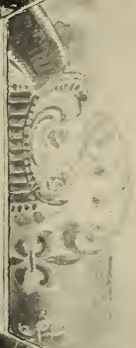
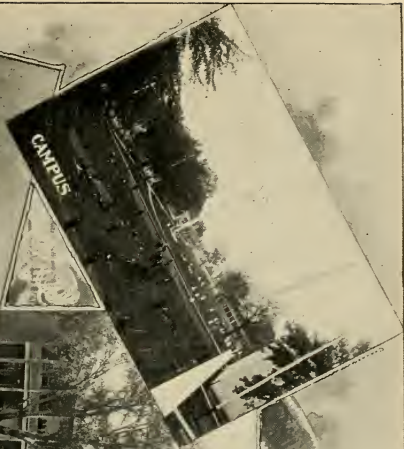
"The effects which intoxication produce upon the Indians are dreadful. It has been the cause of an infinite number of murders among them, beside biting off of noses and otherwise disfiguring each other. Many have died of colds which they caught by lying on the cold ground and remaining exposed to the elements when drunk. Others have lingered out their lives in excruciating rheumatism, and in wasting consumption. Reflecting Indians have keenly remarked, 'It is strange that a people who profess themselves believers in a religion revealed to them by the Great Spirit himself; who say that they have in their houses the Word of God and his laws and his commandments textually written, could think of making a beson calculated to bewitch people and make them destroy one another.' One said, 'Can you, my friend, tell me what is in the beson that con-

fuses one so, and transforms things in that manner? Is it an invisible spirit? It must be something alive; or have the white people sorcerers among them who put something in the liquor to deceive those who drink it? Do the white people drink of the same liquor they give the Indian? Do they also, when drunk, kill people and bite noses off as do the Indians? Who taught the white people to make so pernicious a beson?

"I believe the cause of the Indians being so fond of liquor is to be found in their living almost entirely upon fresh meats and green vegetables, such as corn, pumpkins, squashes potatoes, cucumbers, melons, beans, &c., which causes a longing in their stomach for some seasoning, particularly when they have been a long time without salt. They are on those occasions equally eager for any acid substances; vinegar, if they can get it, they will drink in considerable quantities, and think nothing of going thirty or forty miles for it; cranberries, whether in season or not. They also gather crab-apples, wild grapes and other acid and even bitter fruits as substitutes for salt, and in the Spring they will peel such trees as have a sourish sap which they lick with great avidity."

In this connection we will refer to the work for the Indians to-day at the school in Carlisle, under the charge of Major R. H. Pratt, whose principle is expressed in these words, "To civilize the Indian get him into civilization; to keep him so, let him stay."

Major Pratt says of the Outing System adopted by that school: "The foregoing principles established beyond a peradventure by our eighteen years' experience have led me to urge and extend, so far as I have been allowed, the Carlisle Outing System, which I continue to regard as the best possible means of inducting Indian boys and girls into our civilized family and national life. Through contact only will the prejudice of the Indians against the whites, and the prejudice of the whites against the Indians, be broken up. The practical demonstration that the young Indian is as competent in the field and shop and in household matters as the young Anglo-Saxon, and has the same qualities of head and heart, removes Anglo-Saxon prejudice against the Indians, and living in kindly American homes removes Indian prejudice, proving to both that neither is as bad as the other thought, thus accomplishing fully and at once for each what no amount of long range assertion can effect."





DR. CARLOS MONTEZUMA, AS A BOY IN THE APACHE
INDIAN CAMP, ARIZONA.



DR. CARLOS MONTEZUMA, AS A PHYSICIAN IN CHICAGO.



TOM TORLINO, NAVAJO, AS HE ENTERED CARLISLE, AND FOUR YEARS LATER.

CHAPTER XII.

HISTORY OF THE INDIANS.

THE history of the Indians is largely traditional. The main statements having been gathered by the earnest missionaries who went among them fearlessly and were received by them as friends and teachers. Many discoveries have been made, as mounds have been opened, which throw light upon the degree of civilization attained by the Indians, but as they have preserved no records, they do not give light on the history of the people who first dwelt in the wilds of America. The Indians inhabiting the vast expanse of country between Virginia and Canada say that in the far distant past their fathers dwelt in the western wilds of America. Going toward the East, after many years, they came to a great river, the Næmosi Sipu, or, river of fish. Here they met another tribe of Indians who had also come from a far country, and had approached the river toward its head waters. The former were the Lenape and the latter the Mengwe. When they came near the river they found a powerful nation dwelling in large towns upon its banks. These people were of great size, and defended their towns by regular fortifications built of earth. They refused to permit the strangers to settle near them, but gave them permission to pass through their territories to the country beyond. But when the Lenape were crossing the river, the Allegewi attacked them and killed many who had succeeded in crossing. At this the Mengwe, who had been spectators until this moment, joined their forces to those of the Lenape, and for a long time they waged war with the Allegewi, and finally drove them away. The Allegewi fled down the river and never returned. Then the Mengwe chose the country toward the north, where the great lakes were, and the Lenape chose the lands toward the south. For many ages they lived in harmony and prospered. After a long time the hunters of the Lenape crossed the mountains and discovered the great rivers, Susquehanna and Delaware. As they explored the coun-

try they came to the Hudson, which they called the Mohicannituck river. When they returned to their people and told of the abundance of fish, and fruits, and fowls, and that there were no people dwelling there, the Lenape concluded that that was the land destined for them by the Great Spirit. They therefore came and settled upon the four rivers, the Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna and Potomac. They made the Delaware the center of their possessions, and gave it the name of Lenape-wihituck. These dwelling in this new territory were divided into three tribes. One was called the Turtle, or Unamis; another the Turkey, or Unalachtgo, and the other the Wolf, or Minsi. The two former inhabited the coast from the Hudson to the Potomac, settling in small towns and villages, upon the larger streams, under chiefs subordinate to the great council of the nation. The Minsi, called Monceys by the English, the most warlike of the tribes, went into the interior between their brothers and the Mengwe, stretching from the Minisink on the Delaware, where they held their councils, to the Hudson on the east, and the Susquehanna on the south, and from the head waters of the Delaware and Susquehanna to the Muskenecum hills in New Jersey and to the Lehigh and Coghnewago in Pennsylvania. In the course of time the Mengwe and the Lenape became enemies, and there were many deeds of treachery between them. At length the Delawares, or Lenape, turned on the Mengwe, determined to exterminate them. This caused the Mengwe to unite all their tribes in a great confederacy. Thannawage, a Mohawk, was the father of the republic which was thus formed. The confederacy was composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas and Senecas. Afterward there was added a sixth, the Tuscaroras. The Lenape were checked, but the Iroquois, as the six nations were called, found a new enemy in the French, who were attempting the settlement of Canada. They thought it wise now to be reconciled to their Indian fellows, and secured it by a remarkable stroke of policy.

The mediators between the Indian nations at war are women. The men, however, weary of the contest, consider it cowardly and disgraceful to seek reconciliation. A warrior must maintain a determined courage at all times, and be as ready to battle at the end as at the beginning of an engagement. To them it seemed two faced to speak of peace while holding warlike

weapons in their hands. Hence, when they were desirous of peace, the women interfered, and persuaded the men to bury the hatchet. They conjured the warriors by their suffering wives, their helpless children, their homes and their friends, to interchange forgiveness, to cast away their arms, and smoking together the pipe of peace and amity, to embrace as friends those whom they had learned to esteem as enemies.

The Mengwe sent to the Lenape the following communication: "It is not profitable that all the nations should be at war with each other, for this will at length be the ruin of the whole Indian race. We have, therefore, considered a remedy by which this evil may be prevented. One nation shall be the woman. We will place her in the midst, and the other nations that make war shall be the man and live around the woman. No one shall touch or hurt the woman, and if any one does it we will immediately say to him: 'Why do you beat the woman?' Then all the men shall fall upon him who has beaten her. The woman shall not go to war, but shall endeavor to keep the peace with all. Therefore, if the men who surround her beat each other, and the war be carried on with violence, the woman shall have the right of addressing them: 'Ye men, what are ye about; why do ye beat each other? We are almost afraid. Consider that your wives and children must perish unless ye desist. Do you mean to destroy yourselves from the face of the earth?' The men shall then hear and obey the woman."

The Delaware Indians did not see the danger of accepting such a proposition, but were captivated by the beautiful results that would come to all the Indians. They were moved by the humanity of it, and realized that no better selection of a peacemaker could be made than of themselves, because there were no greater warriors than themselves. No one could charge them with cowardice or fear.

The ceremony of the metamorphosis was performed with great rejoicing at Albany in 1717, in the presence of the Dutch. There was a great feast and the orator of the Iroquois made a speech in which there were three points. The first being the declaration that the Delaware nation was henceforth the woman. He said, "We dress you in a woman's long habit reaching down to your feet and adorn you with ear rings," meaning that they should no more take up arms. The second point was, "We hang

a calabash filled with oil and medicines upon your arm. With the oil you shall cleanse the ears of the other nations, that they may attend to good and not to bad words; and with the medicines you shall heal those who are walking in foolish ways, that they may return to their senses, and incline their hearts to peace." The third point by which the Delawares were exhorted to make Agriculture their future employment and means of subsistence was thus worded: "We deliver into your hands a plant of Indian corn and a hoe." Each of these points was confirmed by delivering a belt of wampum, which were carefully laid up and their meaning frequently repeated.

Afterward the Iroquois represented that they had conquered the Delawares and had forced them to pay tribute. Colden says in his account of the Five Nations: "About the year 1664, the Five Nations, being amply supplied with fire arms and ammunition, gave a full swing to their warlike genius; they carried their arms as far south as Carolina, to the northward of New England, and as far west as the Mississippi, over a vast country, which extended twelve hundred miles in length and six hundred in breadth; where they entirely destroyed whole nations of whom there are no accounts remaining among the English."

With these explanations we are able to understand the conduct of the Indians at the Council in Philadelphia in 1742.

From these three separate accounts of the Lenape, of the Mahicani and of the Mohawks, as related by Mr. Pyrlaeus, it appears to be conclusively proved that the Europeans were already in this country when the Lenape were persuaded to assume the station of woman, and that the Dutch were assisting in the plot and were at least the instigators if not the authors of it. It was the Dutch who summoned the great council near Albany; the tomahawk was buried deep in the ground, and the vengeance of the Dutch was threatened if it should ever be taken up again; the peace belt was laid across the shoulders of the unfortunate Delawares, supported at one end by the Five Nations, and at the other by the Europeans. All these circumstances point so clearly to European intrigue, that it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the whites adopted this means to neutralize the power of the Delawares and their friends, whom

they dreaded, and strengthen the hands of the Iroquois, who were in their alliance.

Before that strange metamorphosis took place, of a great and powerful nation being transformed into a band of defenceless women, the Iroquois had never been permitted to visit the Lenape even when they were at peace with each other. Whenever a Mengwe appeared in their country, he was hunted down as a beast of prey, and it was lawful for every one to destroy him. But now the "woman" could not consistently, with her new station and engagements, make use of destructive weapons, and she was bound to abstain from all violence against the human species. Her late enemies therefore found no difficulty in traveling under various pretences through her country and those of her allies, and leaving here and there a few of their people to remain among them as long as they pleased for the purpose, as they said, of keeping up a good understanding and assisting them in the preservation of the general peace. But while they were amusing the Lenape with flattering language, they were concerting measures to involve them in difficulties with other nations.

The Delawares say that to the countenance of the English is entirely owing the preponderance which the Iroquois at last attained. They complain that the English did support that enemy against them; that they even sanctioned their insolence by telling them to make use of their authority as men, and bring these women to their senses. That they were even insulted and treated in a degrading manner in treaties to which the English were parties, and particularly in that which took place in Easton in July, 1742, when the Six Nations were publicly called on to compel the Delawares to give up the land taken from them by the long day's walk. But for these repeated outrages they would not have taken part with the French in the war of 1755. Nor perhaps would they have done so had not they been seduced into the measure by the perfidious Iroquois. At the commencement of that war they brought the war belt with a piece of tobacco to the Delawares and told them, "Remember that the English have unjustly deprived you of much of your land which they took from you by force. Your cause is just; therefore, smoke of this tobacco and arise; join with us, our fathers, the French, and take your revenge. You are women, it is true,

but we will shorten your petticoats, and though you may appear by your dress to be women, yet by your conduct and language you will convince your enemies that you are determined not tamely to suffer the wrongs and injuries inflicted upon you."

Yielding to these solicitations, the Delawares and their connections took up arms against the English in favor of the French, and committed many hostilities in which the Iroquois appeared to take no part. Sir William Johnson requested them to use their ascendancy and to persuade the hostile Indians to lay down the hatchet, instead of which, instead of conforming to the ancient custom of Indian nations, which was simply to take the war hatchet back from those to whom they had given it, they fell on a sudden on the unsuspecting Lenape, killed their cattle, and destroyed their town on the Susquehanna and carried their prisoners to Johnson who put them in irons. This cruel act of treachery the Delawares say they will never forget or forgive. This is why they acted against the English in the war of 1755.

Let us for a moment place ourselves in the situation of the Delawares, Mohicans and the other tribes connected with them at the time when the Europeans first landed on New York Island. They were then in the height of their glory, pursuing their successes against the Iroquois, with whom they had long been at war. They were in possession of the whole country from the sea coast to the Mississippi; from the river St. Lawrence to the frontier of Carolina, while the habitations of their enemies did not extend far beyond the Great Lakes. In this situation they are on a sudden checked in their career by a phenomenon they had till then never beheld. Immense canoes arriving at their shores filled with a people of a different color, language, dress and manners from themselves. In their astonishment they call out to one another, "Behold, the gods are come to visit us!" They at first considered these astonishing beings as messengers of peace sent from the abodes of the Great Spirit, and therefore employed their time in preparing and making sacrifices to that Great Being who had so highly honored them. Lost in amazement, fond of the enjoyment of this new spectacle, and anxious to know the result, they were unmindful of those matters which hitherto had taken up their minds and had been the object of their pursuits. They thought of nothing else but the wonders which now struck their eyes, and sharpest wits were

constantly employed in endeavoring to divine this great mystery.

A great many years ago when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out fishing at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. Immediately returning to the shore, they apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving toward the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay, concluded it to be a remarkably large house in which the Mannitto (the Great Spirit) himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York Island, and deliberating in what manner they should receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols and images were examined and put in order, and a great dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might with the addition of a sacrifice contribute to appease him if he was angry with them. The conjurors were also set to work to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear they were at a loss what to do; a dance, however, commenced in

great confusion. While in this situation fresh runners arrive declaring it to be a large house of various colors and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain that it is the Great Mannitto bringing them some kind of game such as he had not given them before, but other runners, soon after arriving, declare that it is positively a house full of human beings of quite a different color from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them; that in particular one of them was dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay in order not to give offence to their visitor, who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say large canoe, at last stops and a canoe of smaller size comes on shore with the man in red and some others in it; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men assemble in council, form themselves into a large circle toward which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance and they return the salute after their manner. • They are lost in admiration; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the strangers is to them a subject of wonder; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He surely must be the Great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin? Meanwhile a large Hackhack (gourd) is brought by one of his servants from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup, or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks, has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents, and passes it on to the next chief who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle without the liquor being tasted by anyone, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harrangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them by the Mannitto that they should drink of it as he had done. To follow his example would be pleasing to him; but to return what he had given them might provoke

his wrath and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequences be what it might; it was better for one man to die than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewell, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate; he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up, and declares he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drank the cup. He asks for more; his wish is granted; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

After this general intoxication had ceased, for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here; that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year when they would bring them more presents and stay with them awhile; but as they could not live without eating they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other; but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here they say a general laughter ensued among the Indians that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implements and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time. They took every white

man they saw for an inferior Mannitto, attendant on the supreme deity, who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground for a garden as, they said, the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request; but the whites then took a knife and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up it made a great heap; then they took the rope at one end drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded up the Mahicanittuck until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.

Why the Indians Held to the English and Against the French.
By DeWitt Clinton.

"It is not a little difficult to define the territorial limits of this extraordinary people, for on this subject there are the most repugnant representations by the French and English writers arising from interest, friendship, prejudice and enmity. While the French on the one hand were involved in continual hostility with them, the English on the other hand were connected by alliance and by commerce. By the 15th Article of the treaty of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, it was stipulated that the subjects of France inhabiting Canada and others shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations, or cantons, subject to the dominion of Great Britain. As between France and England the Confederates were therefore to be considered as the subjects of the latter, and of course the British dominion was coextensive with the rightful territory of the five cantons, it then became the policy of France to diminish, and that of England

to enlarge this territory. But, notwithstanding the confusion that has grown out of these clashing interests and contradictory representations, it is not perhaps very far from the truth to pronounce that the Five Nations were entitled by patrimony or conquest to all the territory in the United States and in Canada, not occupied by the Creeks, the Cherokees and the other southern Indians; by the Sioux, the Kinisteneaux and the Chippewas, and by the English and French as far west as the Mississippi and Lake Winnepeg, as far northwest as the waters which unite this lake and Hudson's Bay and Labrador. 'The Five Nations claim,' says Smith, 'all the lands not sold to the English from the mouth of Sorel river, on the south side of Lakes Erie and Ontario, on both sides of the Ohio till it falls into the Mississippi; and on the north side of these lakes that whole territory between the Ottawas river and Lake Huron, and even beyond the straits between that and Lake Erie. The principal point of dispute between the English and French was whether the dominion of the Confederates extended north of the Great Lakes; but I think it is evident that it did. It is admitted by several French writers that the Iroquois had several villages on the north side of Lake Ontario; and they are even laid down in the maps attached to Charlevoix, and it cannot be denied but that they subdued the Hurons and Algonquins, who lived on that side of the Great Lakes and consequently were entitled to their country by right of conquest.' Douglass estimated their territory at about twelve hundred miles in length from north to south and from seven to eight hundred miles in breadth. This was either hereditary or conquered. Their patrimonial and part of their conquered country were used for the purpose of habitation and hunting. Their hunting grounds were very extensive, including a large triangle on the southeast side of St. Lawrence river, the country lying on the south and east sides of Lake Erie, and the country between the Lakes Erie and Michigan, and the country lying on the north of Lake Erie and northwest of Lake Ontario and Huron. All the remaining part of their territory was inhabited by the Abenakis, Algonquins, Shawanese, Delawares, Illinois, Miamies, and other vassal nations. The acquisition of supremacy over a country of such amazing extent and fertility, inhabited by warlike and numerous nations, must have been the result of design and system of action proceeding from a wise and energetic policy, con-

tinued for a long course of time. To their social combinations, military talents and exterior arrangements we must look for this system, if such system is to be found."

The Indians and the English in the Revolutionary War.

"After the general peace in 1762, an attempt was made by a number of the western Indians to destroy the British colonies. The Senecas were involved in this war, but in 1764, Sir William Johnson, styling himself his Majesties' sole agent and superintendent of Indian affairs in North America and colonel of the Six United Nations, their allies and dependents, agreed to preliminary articles of peace with them. In this treaty the Senecas ceded to them the Caring place at Niagara.

"The Confederates remained in a state of peace until the commencement of the Revolutionary War. On the 19th of June, 1775, the Oneidas and some other Indians sent to the convention of Massachusetts a speech declaring their neutrality; stating that they could not find nor recollect in the traditions of their ancestors a parallel case; and saying, "As we have declared for peace, we desire you would not apply to our Indian brethren in New England for assistance. Let us Indians be all of one mind, and live with one another; and you white people settle your own disputes betwixt yourselves." These good dispositions did not long continue with most of the Indian nations; all within the reach of British blandishments and presents were prevailed upon to take up the hatchet. It is calculated that twelve thousand six hundred and ninety warriors were employed by the British during the Revolutionary War, of which one thousand five hundred and eighty were Iroquois. The influence of Sir William Johnson was transmitted to his son, who was most successful in alluring them into the views of Great Britain. A great war feast was made by him on the occasion in which, according to the horrible phraseology of these barbarians, they were invited to banquet upon a Bostonian and to drink his blood.

"General Burgoyne made a speech to the Indians on the 28th of June, 1777, urging them to hostilities, and stating his satisfaction at the general conduct of the Indian tribes from the beginning of the troubles in America.

"An old Iroquois chief answered, "We have been tried and

tempted by the Bostonians but we have loved our father, and our hatchets have been sharpened on our affections. In proof of the sincerity of our professions, our whole villages able to go to war, are come forth; the old and infirm, our infants and our wives alone remain at home."

"They realized their professions. The whole Confederacy, except a little more than half of the Oneidas, took up arms against the Americans. They hung like the scythe of death upon the rear of the settlements and their deeds are inscribed with the scalping knife and the tomahawk in characters of blood on the fields of Wyoming, on the banks of the Mohawk and along the valleys of the Susquehanna.

"In 1781, when almost all the Indian nations were in the British interest except a part of the Delawares, among whom were the Christian Indians, between two hundred and three hundred souls in number, the British Indian Agent at Detroit applied to the great council of the Six Nations at Niagara to remove those Christian Indians out of the country. The Iroquois upon this sent a war message to the Chippeways and Ottawas to this effect: "We herewith make you a present of the Christian Indians to make soup of," which in the war language of the Indians meant, "We deliver these people to you to be murdered." These brave Indians sent the message immediately back with the reply: "We have no cause for doing this." The same message being sent next to the Wyandotts they likewise disobeyed their orders and did not make the least attempt to murder those innocent people. The Iroquois therefore were completely at a loss how to think and act, seeing that their orders were everywhere disregarded.

"In the wars between France and England and their colonies their Indian allies were entitled to a premium for every scalp of an enemy. In the war preceeding 1703, the government of Massachusetts gave twelve pounds for every Indian scalp; in that year the premium was raised to forty pounds, but in 1722 it was augmented to one hundred pounds. An act was passed on February 25th, 1745, by the New York colonial legislature, entitled, 'An act for giving a reward for such scalps and prisoners as shall be taken by the inhabitants of (or Indians in alliance with) this colony, and to prevent the inhabitants of the city and county of Albany from selling rum to the Indians.' In 1746, the scalps of two Frenchmen were presented to one of the colonial gover-

nors at Albany by three of the Confederate Indians, and his excellency after gratifying them with money and fine clothes assured them how well he took this special mark of their fidelity and that he would always remember this act of friendship. 'The employment of savages, and putting into their hands the scalping knife during the Revolutionary War, were openly justified in the House of Lords by Lord Suffolk, the British Secretary of State, who vindicated its policy and necessity and declared that the measure was also allowable on principle; for that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature had put into their hands. 'The eloquent rebuke of Lord Chatham has perpetuated the sentiment and consigned its author to immortal infamy.'—*Dellitt Clinton*.

The Friends, following the example of the founder of Pennsylvania and acting according to the principles of their society, were the protectors of the Indians. But the family of Penn departed from the Society and thoroughly adopted the sentiments and practices of the worldly. In fact, in July, 1764, John Penn, the grandson of William Penn, offered by proclamation the following bounties for the capture, or scalps, or death of the Indians: For every man above the age of ten years captured, \$150; scalped and killed, \$134; for every Indian female enemy and every male under the age of ten years captured, \$130; for every female above the age of ten years scalped, being killed, \$50.

In the biography of Franklin, by Parton, we are told of the use he made of a printing press which he always kept in his house ready for use. He was in France in 1781, and was profoundly affected by the barbarous manner in which some of the English officers were conducting the war against the Americans. Parton says, "To bring the horrors of Indian warfare home to the minds of the rulers of England, he printed a leaf of an imaginary American newspaper, which he styled, 'Supplement to the Boston Independent Chronicle.' For this supplement he wrote an 'Extract of a letter from Captain Gerrish, of the New England Militia'; imitating with great exactness the usual style of such performances in the newspapers of New England. Captain Gerrish said: 'The peltry taken in the expedition (see the account of the expedition to Oswegatchie, on the River St. Lawrence, in our paper of the 1st instant) will, as you see, amount to a great deal of money. The possession of this booty at first gave

us pleasure; but we were struck with horror to find among the packages eight large ones containing SCALPS of our unhappy country folks, taken in the last three years by the Seneca Indians from the inhabitants of the frontiers of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, and sent by them as a present to Colonel Haldimand, Governor of Canada, in order to be by him transmitted to England.' ”

The Captain added that the packages of scalps were accompanied by an explanatory letter from one James Crawford, a trader, to the Governor of Canada, which he enclosed. The opening paragraph will serve to show the leading idea :

“ May it please your Excellency : At the request of the Seneca chiefs, I send herewith to your Excellency, under the care of James Boyd, eight packs of scalps, cured, dried, hooped and painted, with all the Indian triumphal marks, of which the following is invoice and explanation :

“ No. 1. Containing forty-three scalps of Congress soldiers, killed in different skirmishes ; these are stretched on black hoops, four inches diameter ; the inside of the skin painted red, with a small black spot to note their being killed with bullets. Also sixty-two of farmers killed in their houses ; the hoops red, the skin painted brown, and marked with a hoe, a black circle all round to denote their being surprised in the night, and black hatchet in the middle, signifying their being killed with that weapon.

“ No. 2. Containing ninety-eight of farmers killed in their houses ; hoops red, figure of a hoe, to mark their profession ; great white circle and sun, to show they were surprised in the day-time ; a little red foot, to show they stood upon their defence and died fighting for their lives and families.

“ The other packages were described in similar style. No. 3, containing ninety-seven scalps of farmers, and No. 4, one hundred and two, of which eighteen were marked with a little yellow flame, to denote their being of prisoners burnt alive, after being scalped, their nails pulled out by the roots, and other torments ; one of these latter supposed to be a rebel clergyman, his hand being fixed to the hoop of his scalp. Most of the farmers appear by the hair to have been young or middle-aged men ; there being but sixty-seven of very grey heads among them all ; which makes the service more essential. No. 5 contained eighty-eight scalps

of women, and Nos. 6, 7, 8, some hundreds of boys and girls. In No. 8 was found a box of birch bark containing twenty-nine little infants' scalps of various sizes; small white hoops, white ground, no tears and only a little black knife in the middle to show they were ripped out of their mothers' bodies.

"These packages, according to James Crawford, the Governor of Canada was requested by the chiefs to send to the King of England, that he might know and reward their zeal in his service.

"The imaginary editor of the paper appended to the whole a postscript of his own, in which he stated that the scalps had just reached Boston, and that thousands of people were flocking to see them, their mouths full of execrations. Fixing them to the trees is not approved, added the editor. It is now proposed to make them up in decent little packages, seal and direct them; one to the king, containing a sample of every sort for his museum; one to the Queen, with some women and little children; the rest to be distributed among both Houses of Parliament; a double quantity to the bishops."

It is not known how widely this production was circulated. But it is evident that it made the people conscious of the barbarities practiced in the war against the colonies as nothing less vivid could have done. Franklin, an old man of seventy-five years, undoubtedly recalled his experience in the Indian war eighteen years before, and while surrounded by all the luxuries of the French court, drew from his faultless memory the terrible realities which the word scalp signified.

CHAPTER XIII.

TREATIES WITH THE INDIANS.

IN THE year 1733 notice was given in the public papers that the remaining day and a half's walk was to be made, and offering five hundred acres of land anywhere in the purchase, and five pounds in money, to the person who should attend and walk the farthest in the given time. By previous agreement the Governor was to select three white persons and the Indians a like number of their own nation. The persons employed by the Governor were Edward Marshall, James Yates and Solomon Jennings. One of the Indians was called Combush. About the 20th of September (or when the days and nights are equal), they met before sunrise at the old chestnut tree below Wrightstown Meeting House, together with a great number of persons as spectators. The walkers all stood with one hand against the tree, until the sun rose, and then started. In two hours and a half they arrived at Red Hill in Bedminister, where Jennings and two of the Indians gave out. The other Indian (Combush) continued with them to near where the road forks at Easton, where he laid down a short time to rest, but on getting up he was unable to proceed further. Marshall and Yeates proceeded on and arrived at sundown at the north side of the Blue Mountain. They started again the next morning at sunrise. While crossing a stream of water at the foot of the mountain Yeates became faint and fell. Marshall turned back and supported him until others came to his relief, and then continued the walk alone, and arrived at noon on a spur of the second or Broad Mountain, estimated to be eighty-six miles from the place of starting. They walked from sunrise to sunset without stopping; provisions and refreshments having been previously provided at different places along the road and line that had been run and marked for them to walk by, to the top of the Blue Mountains, and persons also attended on horseback by relays with liquors of several kinds. When they arrived at the Blue Mountain they found a great

number of Indians collected, expecting the walk would end there; but when they found it was to go half a day further, they were very angry, and said they were cheated. Penn had got all their good land, but that in the spring every Indian was to bring him a buckskin and they would have their land again, and Penn might go to the devil with his poor land.

An old Indian said, "No sit down to smoke—no shoot a squirrel, but lun, lun, lun, all day long."

The Indian question in 1742 was reaching a condition that led thoughtful men to the conviction that there was grave trouble before the Province.

The Unity Conference in February had been distinguished by the baptism of three Indian converts in the presence of a large concourse of people. The position of the earnest godly men in this movement was now indicated. At the fourth conference held in Germantown the eleventh of March, Henry Antes was appointed to investigate the question of the wrongs done the Indians, thus moving on a line that was bound to be antagonistic to the general method of the officials of the province. At the same time Count Zinzendorf was contemplating a personal visit to the Indians in their homes. The dispute at this time was in regard to certain lands that were being occupied by settlers which the Indians were unwilling to give up. Gordan says, "A tract lying in the forks of the Delaware and Lehigh rivers, extending back into the woods as far as a man can go in a day and a half, denominated the walking purchase, had been sold to William Penn by the Delawares in 1736, and confirmed by the same tribe by their deed dated 25th of August, 1737." The lines of this purchase having been traced by very expert walkers, and including more land than the Indians expected, increased the dissatisfaction which had prevailed among them in relation to the grant of 1736. The Indians complained that the walkers who outstripped them ran, and did not pursue the course of the river as they anticipated. The chief Nutimus and others, who signed the treaty of 1737, refused to yield peaceable possession of these lands, and declared their intention to maintain themselves by force of arms.

Henry Antes was filled with indignation as he saw how the poor Indians were cheated by the rascality of the followers of

Penn, and whatever the issue he would not be a party to such villainy.

There was an impression among many at this time that the Indians were the lost tribes of Israel. William Penn held this view, Spangenburg also believed it, and as Antes was his intimate friend, undoubtedly it was his view also. With such a belief in their minds one can readily see why they would hazard all things to win them to Christ.

But the Governor and his party were not troubled with questions of this kind; they had the power to compel the Indians, and they determined to use that power. They, therefore, invoked the Iroquois to exert their authority over the Delawares, and compel them to remove. Upon this invitation there were two hundred and thirty chiefs that came to Philadelphia the 30th of June, 1742.

There were thirteen Onondagas, nineteen Cayugas, fourteen Oneidas, three Senecas, twenty-one Tuscaroras, five Shawanese, eight Conestogas, six Delawares from Shamokin and four from the Forks. There were eleven other chiefs. The principal person was Canasatego, who was a chief of the Mengwe. He belonged to the Onondagas.

Before these Indians the Governor recited his grievances concerning the retention of purchased lands, and writing rude and abusive letters to the proprietaries by the Delawares. Then Canasatego arose and speaking for the Six Nations, who numbered nearly two thousand warriors, said: "They saw the Delawares had been an unruly people, and were altogether in the wrong; that they concluded to remove them and oblige them to go over the river Lehigh and quit all claims to any lands on this side for the future, since they had received pay for them and it is gone through their guts long ago. They deserve to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely, till they recovered their senses and became sober. That he had seen with his eyes a deed signed by nine of their ancestors above fifty years ago for this very land (1686) and a release signed not many years since (1737) by some of themselves, and chiefs then living (Nutimus and Sassoonan, then present) to the number of fifteen and upwards." Then turning to the Delaware chiefs, he said: "But how came you to take upon you to sell lands at all? We conquered you; we made women of you; you know you are women

and can no more sell land than women; nor is it fit you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it. This land that you claim has gone through your guts, you have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again, like children as you are. But what makes you sell lands in the dark? Did you ever tell us you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part, even the value of a pipe shank, from you for it? You have told us a blind story, that you sent a messenger to us to inform us of the sale; but he never came amongst us, nor did we ever hear anything about it. This is acting in the dark, and not like the custom our Six Nations observe in the sale of lands. On such occasions they give public notice and invite all the Indians of their united nations, and give them all a share of the presents they receive for the lands. This is the behavior of the wise united nations. But we find you are none of our blood; you act a dishonest part, not only in this but in other matters; your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about your brethren. For all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly. We don't give you liberty to think about it. You are women! Take the advice of a wise man and remove instantly. You may return to the other side of the Lehigh instantly, where you came from; but we do not know whether, considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there, or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats as well as the land on this side. We therefore assign you two places to go to, either to Wyoming or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places, and then we shall have you more under our eye, and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but move away and take this belt of wampum."

He then forbade them to intermeddle in land affairs, or ever thereafter pretend to sell any land; and commanded them, as he had something to transact with the English, immediately to depart the council. The Delawares dared not disobey this peremptory command but immediately departed from the council.

The third treaty at Easton, held between Teedyuscung for the Indians and George Crogan for the English, opened formally on July 27th, 1757, and closed on August 7th. Governor Denny and members of his council and a number of gentlemen

from Philadelphia, among whom the Friends were largely represented, were in attendance. There were present of the Indians one hundred and fifty-nine of Teedyuscung's counsellors and warriors and one hundred and nineteen Senecas; among these representatives of the ten nations, who had only two heads of kings between them. Pompshire interpreted for the Delaware Captain, Thomas McKee for the Crown and Conrad Weiser for the Province. Teedyuscung having demanded a secretary to take down the minutes for his revision, it was reluctantly granted him, and he chose Charles Thompson, Master of the Public Quaker School in the city of Philadelphia, the same Thompson who in the Enquiry pleads the cause of the Delawares with the calm composure of an advocate who is conscious of the innocence of his client and of the certain triumph of truth and justice. After an exchange of the compliments usually preliminary to business on such occasions, and the utterance of mutual assurances of regret for the past and good hopes for the future, the King stated that the purchase of lands by the proprietaries from Indians who had no right to sell, and their fraudulent measurement subsequently, whether by miles or by hour walks, had provoked the war. This charge he demanded should be closely investigated, and on evidence appearing that injury had been done to the Indians, they should have redress. "In that case," he said, "I will speak with a loud voice and the nations shall hear me." Hereupon he stated his purpose to settle with his countrymen in Wyoming, adding that he would build a town there such as the white men build, and provide for the introduction of the Christian religion among his countrymen, and for the education of their children. In conclusion he demanded that the deeds by which the lands in dispute were held should be produced, that they be publicly read, and that copies be laid before King George and published to all the Provinces under his government. "What is fairly bought and paid for," he went on to say, "I make no further demands about; but if any lands have been bought of Indians to whom these lands did not belong, and who had no right to sell them, I expect satisfaction for these lands. And if the proprietaries have taken in more lands than they bought of true owners, I expect likewise to be paid for that. But as the persons to whom the proprietaries may have sold these lands, which of right belonged to me, have made some settle-

ments, I do not want to disturb them or to force them to leave them, but I expect full satisfaction shall be made to the true owners for these lands, though the proprietaries, as I said before, might have bought them from persons who had no right to sell them."

After some hesitation on the part of the Province in consequence of difference of opinion as to the propriety of complying with the Delawares' request, in so far as Sir William Johnson had been commissioned by royal appointment to hear the particulars of the charge brought against the proprietaries, and the proprietaries defense, and in consequence of Teeedyuscung's reluctance to treat with the Baronet and his Indians, some of whom he alleged were parties to the unauthorized sale of lands, the deeds relating to the purchases north of the Tohickon were produced and read. Agreeably to his request, furthermore, copies of them were promised him for dispatch to Sir William Johnson to be transmitted by the latter to King George for his determination. Upon this the Delaware rose to his feet and taking up two belts tied together said: "I desire you would with attention hear me. By these two belts I will let you know what was the ancient method of confirming a lasting peace. This you ought to have considered and to have done; but I will put you in mind. You may remember when you took hold of my hand and led me down and invited my uncles with some from each of the Ten Nations, when we had agreed we came down to take hold of one of your hands, and my uncles came to take hold of your other hand. Now, as this day and this time are appointed to meet and confirm a lasting peace, we, that is, I and my uncles, as we stand, and you as you stand in the name of the great King, three of us standing, we will all look up and by continuing to observe the agreements by which we shall oblige ourselves one to another we shall see the clear light, and friendship shall last to us and to our posterity after us forever and forever. Now, as I have two belts and witnesses are present who will speak the same by these belts, brothers, in the presence of the Ten Nations, who are witnesses, I lay hold of your hand (taking the Governor by the hand) and brighten the chain of friendship that shall be lasting, and whatever conditions shall be proper for us to agree to may be mentioned afterwards. This is the time to declare our mutual friendship. Now, brother,

the Governor, to confirm what I have said, I have given you my hand which you were pleased to rise and take hold of. I leave it with you. When you please I am ready, brother, if you have anything to say as a token of confirming the peace I shall be ready to hear, and as you rose, I will rise up and lay hold of your hand. To confirm what I have said, I give you these belts." "We now rise and take you into our arms," replied the Governor, "and embrace you with the greatest pleasure as our friends and brethren, and heartily desire we may ever hereafter look on one another as brethren and children of the same parents. As a confirmation of this, we give you this belt."

The belt the Governor gave was a large white belt with the figures of three men upon it representing his Majesty, King George, taking hold of the Five Nation King with one hand, and Teedyuscung, the Delaware King, with the other, and marked with the initials of each.

In the afternoon of the 8th of August, the Indians began to pass through Bethlehem on their return from the treaty. Upwards of one hundred came, among them Paxanosa, the Shawanese King of Wyoming, and French Margaret. Colonel Weiser, with a detachment of Provincials under Captain Arndt, was their escort. On the next day the King and his family, Mohican Abraham and Isaac Nutinus arrived. Some of these unwelcome visitors halted for a few days, and some proceeded as far as Fort Allen, and then returned undecided as to where to go or what to do. During the month full two hundred were counted, men, women and children, among them lawless crowds, who annoyed the brethren by depredations, molested the Indians at the Manakasy, and wrangled with each other over their cups at "The Crown."

Toward evening, on Sunday the 7th of August, Governor Denny and his retinue arrived unexpectedly at Bethlehem, crossed the ferry and spent the night at the Crown. He declined accepting the hospitalities of the Brethren on this side, although he was waited on by Bro. Bohler. The young men accordingly entertained him with the music of wind and stringed instruments from boats on the Lehigh in front of his lodgings. He set out for Philadelphia the next morning.

In a conference between Spangenberg and Teedyuscung the following was said: "In the next place we informed Teedyus-

cung that we had purchased a tract of land near Bethlehem on which we proposed to establish our Indian brethren and sisters, and then asked him whether he objected; remarking that the whites were at liberty to settle where they choose and that the Indians, we thought, were entitled to the same privilege." He made answer that probably the white man was under no restriction in the choice of a home, but that if he settled in the white man's country he was subject to the white man's law. He said, "Why cannot the Indians who love the Saviour, remove to the Indian country and plant along the Susquehanna? The Brethren surely can visit them, preach to the men and women and instruct the children."

Spangenberg rejoined, "In case our Indian brethren and sisters were to remove there, they would require a town of their own, and in it a school, and a church, where the Gospel could be freely preached. For this he would stipulate in advance. And furthermore, he would make it a condition that all Indians who should be desirous of hearing of the Saviour should be at liberty to come into the town; and on the other hand all that were disinclined to his service, or did wickedness, or were seducers, should be excluded. There would in fact be no occasion for the latter class to resort to or to take up their abode in the town under consideration, as the Indians had ample lands and room for settlement elsewhere along the river."

Teedyuscung took no exception to these conditions, assented to all that had been said, and then expressed a wish that the Indians who loved the Saviour might live together. "If there be any likelihood of this coming to pass," resumed Spangenberg, "I desire that the settlement be made in the valley where the Shawanese had their seats fifteen years ago; and if the owners of the land make us a proposal to buy, Bro. Mack and myself will gladly go up to Wyoming and view the place, and select a spot. Even in that event, however, our Indian Brethren must be permitted to exercise the right of preference so that those who choose to remain at Bethlehem can remain and those who choose to remove to the Susquehanna can do so. I insist on this demand as it involves a principle which must remain inviolate."

At this stage of the interview Spangenberg informed Teedyuscung of the intention he had had soon after the opening of hostilities to repair to the Indian country in order to treat with the

Indians for peace. This cherished project failed to meet with the approval of Governor Morris, and he had to abandon it. In the course of conversation Teedyuscung stated that during hostilities the wildest reports prejudicial to the Brethren had been in circulation among the Indians. It was currently believed by them, among other things, that the Brethren had decapitated the Indians that had fallen into their hands, had thrown their heads into sacks and sent them to Philadelphia. This charge and others equally extravagant had so exasperated the Indians, that a number of them had conspired to attack the Brethren's settlements and cut off the inhabitants without regard to age or sex. That Paxanosa and he, the King, had on one occasion persuaded two hundred warriors who had banded together for this purpose to desist from their intention until they had certain assurance of the truth of their charge.

Teedyuscung, the King of the Delaware Indians.

After the death of Allumapees, Teedyuscung was made King of the Delawares west of the mountains. This was in the spring of 1756. At this time his headquarters were at Schandowana. At the treaty made in Easton in the summer of 1757, he requested that the government would assist his people in building a village and teach them how to build houses. This was agreed to, and in the spring of 1758 the town was finished. This was the last Indian settlement in the historic Valley of the Five Nations. It stood a little below the site of Wilkesbarre.

Teedyuscung was a remarkable man. The insulting words of Canasatego in the Council of 1742 had stung him to the quick, and he watched for an opportunity to vindicate his people. In the Easton conference he stood up as the champion of his people, fearlessly demanding the restitution of their lands, or an equivalent for their irreparable loss, and in addition, the free exercise of their right to select within the territory in dispute a permanent home. He was contending against a twofold enemy, that is, the English and the Iroquois. His imposing presence, his earnestness of appeal, and his impassioned oratory, as he plead the cause of the injured Lenape, evoked the admiration of even his enemies. He spoke in the euphonious Delaware, uttering the simple and expressive figures and tropes of the native rhetoric with which his harangues were replete, although he was conversant with the

speech of the white race. It was soon perceived that he was as astute and sagacious as he was unmovable in the justice of his righteous demands. His hearers were thus forced to yield to the terms he laid down.

The Colonial Records say, "Newcastle, the interpreter, in the course of the Treaty, advised the Governor to accept the belt that Teedyuscung had offered him, without hesitation, stating that it had been sent by the Six Nations to the Delawares and that it ought to be preserved among the Council Wampum; at the same time he urged the propriety of returning another by way of response. The King, he proceeded, will want abundance of wampum, and if he has not, the cause will suffer. I hope the council bag is full, and desire it may be emptied in the lap of Teedyuscung. Hereupon the Secretary was ordered to bring all the wampum he had into the Council, and there were found to be fifteen strings and seven belts, and a parcel of new black wampum amounting to 7,000 pieces. There being no new white wampum, nor any proper belt to give in return for Teedyuscung's peace belt, a messenger was sent to Bethlehem and he returned with 5,000. Upon which the Indian women were employed to make a belt of a fathom long and sixteen beads wide, in the center of which was to be the figure of a man, meaning the Governor of Pennsylvania, and five figures to his right, and five to his left, meaning the ten Nations mentioned by Teedyuscung."

"September 6th, 1757. On this day Teedyuscung returned from Philadelphia, after the delivery of the peace belt from the Alleghenies to the Governor. He signified a wish that the Brethren would permit him to pass the winter at Bethlehem. This wish was granted, though reluctantly. He accordingly had a lodge built him near 'The Crown.' Here he held court and here he gave audiences to the wild embassies that would come from the Indian country, from the land of the implacable Monsey, from the gates of Diahoga, and from the ultimate dim Thule of Alleghany, or the Ohio country. Occasionally he would repair to Philadelphia or to the Fort to confer with the Governor, or with the commandant on the progress of the work of peace he was apparently solicitous of consummating without delay. Thus the dark winter months passed, and when the swelling of maple buds and the whitening of the shad-bush on the river's banks foretokened the advent of spring, there were busy preparations going on in Teedyuscung's company over the water, for their long expected removal to the

Indian Eldorado on the flats of the Winding River. Thus April passed; and it was the sixteenth of corn-planting month, the month called Tauwinipen, when the Delaware King, his Queen, his counsellors and warriors, led by the commissioners, and under escort of fifty provincials, took up the line of March for Fort Allen, beyond there to strike the Indian Trail that led over the mountains, by way of Nescopeck to Wyoming Valley. On the going out of these spirits, 'The Crown' was swept and garnished, and Ephraim Colver, the publican, had rest." (Moravian Memorials.)

With all of his admirable qualities and faithfulness to his people, Teedyuscung was affected by the usual Indian weakness of love for strong drink. In the council chamber he was the match of the brightest and most acute English statesmen, and among the Indians there was none to excel him. The Iroquois, finding him invincible in the ordinary realms of activities, sent a body of men into his neighborhood to profess regard for him, and under this guise to effect his ruin. They knew his fondness for drink and they gave it to him. Then when he was lying in his own cabin, sleeping under the effects of it, and there was no one near to arouse him, they set fire to the cabin and he was consumed in its burning embers. This was on the 19th of April, 1763. The death of this warrior spread joy throughout the lodges of the Six Nations, for now they were free from his dreaded power.

To cover up their own villainy, they laid the blame of it upon white people who had come into the Wyoming Valley from Connecticut. The infuriated followers of the famous King, believing the report, massacred the white people, and thus horrified the whole frontier.

CHAPTER XIV.

A FAMOUS INDIAN CONFERENCE.

IN JULY, 1754, at Albany, the Proprietors purchased of the Six Nations all the lands within the province of Pennsylvania not previously purchased, lying southwest of a line beginning one mile above the mouth of Penn's creek and running northwest by west to the western boundary of the province. The Shawanese, Delawares and Monseys on the Susquehanna, Juniata, Allegheny and Ohio Rivers thus found their lands sold from under their feet, which the Six Nations had guaranteed to them on their removal from the eastern waters. The Indians on the Allegheny at once went over to the French and the blood of Braddock's soldiers was added to the price of the land. The Proprietors were also compelled to erect a line of forts, which was done under the direction of Benjamin Franklin in 1756. The forts were located at stratgetic points as follows: Fort Augusta at Shamokin; Henshaw's fort on the Delaware; Fort Hamilton at Stroudsburg; Fort Norris and Fort Allen on the Lehigh; Fort Franklin, Fort Lebanon, Fort William Henry and Fort Halifax on the Susquehanna; Fort Greenville on the Juniata, Fort Shirley, Fort Littleton and Shippensburg, besides several smaller stockades, which were garrisoned with provincial troops. Franklin thus describes his experience in building one of these forts:

"While the several companies in the city and country were forming and learning their exercise, the Governor (Morris) prevailed with me to take charge of our northwestern frontier which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defense of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, tho' I did not consider myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers and a parcel of blank commissions for officers to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who in the preceding army had been an officer in the army raised against

Canada, was my aide-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhut, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good place for one of the forts. In order to march thither I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defense; the destruction of Gnadenhut had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses for their women to throw down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force into them. The armed brethren, too, kept watch and relieved as methodically as in any garrisoned town. In conversation with Bishop Spangenberg I mentioned this, my surprise, for, knowing they had obtained an act of parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answered me that it was not one of their established principles, but that at the time of their obtaining that act it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they to their surprise, found it adopted by but a few.

"It was in the beginning of January when we set out on this business of building the forts. I sent one detachment toward the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country and another to the lower part with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Gnadenhut, where a fort was thought to be more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores and baggage. We had not marched many miles before it began to rain, and it continued to rain all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked in our march for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep their gun locks dry. The Indians are dextrous in contrivance for that purpose which we had not.

"Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me request-

ing a supply of fire arms that they might go back and fetch off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. The day of the rain the Indians met these farmers and killed ten of them. The one who escaped informed that his and his companions guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain.

“The next day being fair we continued our march and arrived at the desolated Gnadenhut. There was a saw mill near, round which were left several piles of boards with which we soon huddled ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there who had been half interred by the country people. The next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made of trees, one with another of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work to cut down trees, and our men being dexterous in the use of them, great despatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast I had the curiosity to look at my watch, when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it upon the ground and I found it of fourteen inches diameter. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long pointed at the end. While these were preparing our other men dug a trench all around of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted, and our wagons, the bodies being taken off, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages with two horses each to bring the palisades from the woods to the spot. Then they were set up, our carpenters built a stave of boards all around within about six feet high for the men to stand on when to fire through the loop holes. Our fort, if such a magnificent name may be given to so miserable a stockade, was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day that the men could not work. This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defense against the Indians who have no cannon. Finding ourselves now securely posted, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighboring hills where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There

was an art in their contrivance of those places that seems worth mention. It being winter a fire was necessary for them; but a common fire on the surface of the ground would by its light have discovered their position at a distance. They had, therefore, dug holes in the ground about three feet in diameter, and somewhat deeper. We saw where they had with their hatchets cut off the charcoal from the sides of burnt logs lying in the woods. With these coals they had made small fires in the bottom of the holes, and we observed among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies made by their laying all around with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm, which with them is an essential point. This kind of fire, so managed, could not discover them either by its light or smoke."

In a general study of the contest between the French and English in America this period is exceedingly interesting. The war was mostly on the Canadian border, and on the Ohio, but the whole frontier was in a state of insecurity and massacres were frequent. Ridpath says: "Such had been the success of France during the year that the English had not a single hamlet or fortress remaining in the whole basin of the St. Lawrence. Every cabin where English was spoken had been swept out of the Ohio Valley. At the close of the year 1757, France possessed twenty times as much American territory as England, and five times as much as England and Spain together. Such had been the imbecility of the English management in America that the flag of Great Britain was brought into disgrace."

There was a change of ministry in England and a change of commanders in America, and before two years passed the power of the French was broken in America. In regard to the attitude of the Indians in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, when the authorities saw the results of their treatment of the Indians, they sought to reconcile matters by a series of conferences, in which they restored to the Indians their lands and gave them proper remuneration for what they purchased.

In Smith's History of New Jersey there is the following description of the council with the Indians, held in Easton beginning the 8th of October, 1758, and continuing several days.

Present—The Honorable William Denny, Esq., Lieut. Governor. Lawrence Crowdon, William Logan, Richard Peters, Lynford Lardner, Benjamin Chew, John Mifflin, Esquires, mem-

bers of the Governor's council. Isaac Norris, Joseph Fox, Joseph Galloway, John Hughes, Daniel Roberdeau, Amos Strickland, Esquires, committee of the house of representatives. Charles Read, Jacob Spicer, Esquires, commissioners for Indian affairs, in the province of New Jersey. A number of magistrates and freeholders of this and the neighboring province, and of the citizens of the city of Philadelphia, chiefly of the people called Quakers. George Croghan, Esquire, deputy agent for Indian affairs under Sir William Johnson. Indians of several nations, viz :

Mohawks: Nichas or Karaghtadie, with one woman and two boys.

Senecas: Tagashata, alias Takeaghsodo, alias Sigachsadon, chief man, with seven other chiefs, thirty-seven other men, twenty-eight women and children.

Onondagas: Assaradonguas, with nine men and nine women and children.

Oneidas: Segughsonyout, alias Thomas King, Anagaraghiry, Assanyquou, with three warriors or captains, six warriors and thirty-three women and children.

Cayugas: Tokaaio, with eight men, eleven women and children.

Tuscaroras: Nichaquanataquoah, alias Jonathan, with five men, twelve women and two children.

Nanticokes: Robert White, alias Wolahocumy, Pashdomokas, alias Charles, with sixteen men, twenty women and eighteen children.

Conoys: Kanakt, alias Last Night, with nine men ten women and one child.

Tutelos: Cakanonekoanos, alias Big Arm, Asswagarat, with six men and three women.

Chagnots: Ten men, twenty women and children.

Chihohockies: Alias Delawares and Unamies: Teedyuscung with divers men, women and children to the number of sixty.

Munsies or Minisinks: Egotchowen, with sundry men, women and children numbering thirty-five.

Mawhickons: Abraham or Mammatuckan, with men, women and children numbering fifty-six.

Wawpingsor Pomptons: Nimham, Aquaywochtu, with sundry men, women and children to the number of forty-seven. In all five hundred and seven.

Conrad Weiser, Esq., Provincial Interpreter; Captain Henry Moutour, Interpreter in Six Nation and Delaware languages; Stephen Calvin, Isaac Stille, Moses Tetamy, Delaware Indians, interpreters in the Delaware language.

The next conference on the 11th, Governor Francis Bernard, Esq., Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of his Majesty's province of New Jersey was present.

Tagashata, the Seneca Chief, intending to speak first, on behalf of the Indians, had laid some belts and strings on the table. As soon as the company sat down Teedyuscung, holding out a string, said he had something to deliver, and desired he might be heard first of all:

After Governor Bernard had spoken Teedyuscung said: "Brethren—I desire all of you who are present will give ear to me. As you, my brethren, desired me to call all the nations who live back; I have done so. Now, if you have anything to say to them, or they to you, you must sit and talk together.

"Brethren, I sit by only to hear and see what you say to one another; for I have said what I have to say, to the Governor of Pennsylvania who sits here; he knows what has passed between us. I have made known to him the reasons why I have struck him. Now I and the Governor have made up these differences between him and me; and I think we have done it as far as we can for our future peace."

This speech was interpreted in the Six Nation language and then Tagashata arose and said: "Brethren, the Governors and your Councils: It has pleased the Most High that we meet together here with cheerful countenances, and a good deal of satisfaction. And as public business requires great consideration, and the day is almost spent, I choose to speak early to-morrow morning.

The Governors answered that they should be glad to give all the despatch possible to this good work they were engaged in, and desired the chiefs would fix the time of meeting; but they declined it, saying, they were unacquainted with hours, but would give notice when they were ready.

The next morning when all had assembled Tagashata taking the strings and belt of wampum which Governor Bernard gave yesterday, repeated, according to the Indian custom, the particulars of his speech, and then added: "Brethren, we approve of every article mentioned to us yesterday by the Governor of Jersey; all that he said is very good. We look upon his message to us

as a commission, and request from him that we should bring matters to a good conclusion with our cousins the Minisinks. They themselves sent for us to do the same thing on their behalf; and at their request we came here, have taken it in hand, and will use our utmost endeavors to bring about the good work which Governor Bernard desires, and do not doubt but that it will be done to his entire satisfaction. Brethren, I now speak at the request of Teedyuscung, and our nephews, the Delawares, living at Wyomink, and on the waters of the river Susquehanna. Brethren, we now remove the hatchets out of your heads that was struck into it by our cousins, the Delawares. It was a French hatchet that they unfortunately made use of, by the instigation of the French. We take it out of your heads and bury it under ground, where it shall always rest and never be taken up again. Our cousins, the Delawares, have assured us they will never think of war against their brethren, the English, any more, but employ their thoughts about peace, and cultivating friendship with them, and never suffer enmity against them to enter into their minds again. The Delawares desired us to say this for them by this belt. (The belt was handed over.)

“Brethren, our nephews, the Minisink Indians, and three other different tribes of that nation, have at last listened to us, and taken our advice, and laid down the hatchet they had taken up against their brethren, the English. They told us they had received it from the French, but had already laid it down, and would return it to them again. They assured us they would never use it any more against you, but would follow our advice, and entreated us to use our utmost endeavors to reconcile them to you their brethren, declaring they were very sorry for what they had done, and desired it might be forgotten, and they would forever cultivate a good friendship with you. These declarations were made by the principal warriors of four tribes of Minisink Indians at giving us this belt.” (Belt given.) Then taking eight strings of black wampum, he continued: “Brethren, we let you know that we have not only brought about this union with our nephews on the waters of the river Susquehanna, but we also have sent messages to our nephews, the Delawares and Minisinks, and to those likewise of our own nations who are on the Ohio under the influence of the French. We have told all those that they must lay down the French hatchet, and be reconciled to their brethren, the Eng-

lish, and never more employ it against them. And we hope they will take our advice. We, the Mohawks, Senecas and Onondagas, deliver this string of wampum, to remove the hatchet out of your heads that has been struck into them by the Ohio Indians, in order to lay a foundation for peace."

Tagashata now gave eight strings of wampum and sat down.

Tokaaio arose and said: "Brethren, I speak in behalf of the younger nations, part of and confederated with the Six Nations, viz: The Cayugas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Tutuloes, Nanticokes and Conoys. A road has been made from our country to this Council fire, that we might treat about friendship; and as we came down the road we saw that by some misfortune or other, blood has lately been spilt on it. By these strings we make the road wider and clearer; we take the blood away out of it and likewise out of the Council Chamber, which may have been stained; we wash it all away, and desire it may not be seen any more, and we take the hatchet out of your heads. (He here gave three strings of wampum.)

"Brethren, the Governors and all the English, I now confine myself to the Cayugas, my own nation. I will hide nothing from you, because we have promised to speak to each other from the bottom of our hearts. The French, like a thief in the night, have stolen away some of our young men, and misled them, and they have been concerned in doing mischief against our brethren, the English. We did not know when it happened, but we discovered it since. The chiefs of our nation held their young men fast, and would not suffer them to go out of their sight; but the French came and stole them away from us and corrupted them to do mischief. We are sorry for it; we ask pardon for them, and hope you will forgive them. We promise they shall do so no more. And now, by this belt, we take out of your heads the hatchet with which they struck you." (He here gave a belt of ten rows.)

In the conference four days later, Robert White, the Nanticoke Chief, arose and said he was going to speak in behalf of seven nations, and directing his discourse to the Governors he said, in English: "Brethren, it is now more than two years since we heard of our cousins, the Delawares, taking up the hatchet against the English. At the first Sir William Johnson sent a message to the head nations, and when they received it they sent to us at Otsaningo, telling us that as we lived close by our cousins,

they desired that we would invite them to meet at our town, and accordingly we invited them, and they came to a great meeting at our town of Otsaningo. We then gave our cousins a belt of a fathom long and twenty-five rows in breadth, and desired them to lay down the hatchet that they had taken up against the English, and to be easy with them. And if they would follow this advice, we told them, that they would live in peace until their heads were white with age, otherwise it might not be so with them. Not hearing from our cousins for some time what they did in consequence of this belt, we sent to them two other belts, one of sixteen, the other of twelve rows, desiring them to once more to be easy with their brethren, the English, and not to strike them any more. But still we heard nothing from them; indeed, sometime afterward we understood the Delawares should say that the Indians at Otsaningo had grey eyes and were like the English and should be served as Englishmen; and we thought we should have had the hatchet struck into our heads. We now want to know what has become of these belts; may be they may be underground, or they may have swallowed them down their throats. Brethren, as our cousins have been loath to give any answer to these belts, we now desire they may let us know in public conference what they have done with them." (Here he gave a string of wampum.)

In the conference on the 18th, Nichas the Mohawk, acquainted the Governors that as counsellors they had finished, having nothing to propose at this present meeting. The warriors were to speak now, and Thomas King was appointed to deliver their words, who thereupon arose and began with an exhortation as well to all concerned in public affairs, Governors and their Councils, and Indian Chiefs and their Councils, as to the warriors of all nations, white people and Indians, desiring all present to attend carefully to what was going to be related as matters of great consequence, which would serve to regulate the conduct of the English and the Indians to each other. He added that the relation going to be made had taken a great deal of trouble to put it into order, and it was made on information given by the several nations now present, who were acquainted with the facts.

"Brethren, we, the warriors, have waited some time, in hopes our counsellors would have taken this matter in hand, but as they have not done it, we have, at their desire, undertaken it, and they

have approved of every thing. I say the councellors of the five younger nations, as well as the three older nations, have approved of what the warriors are going to relate, and take notice, the speech is not only the speech of all the warriors of the elder and younger nations, but of our cousins, the Delawares and Minisinks.

"Brethren, you have been inquisitive to know the cause of this war; you have often inquired among us, but perhaps you did not find out the true cause of the bitterness of our hearts, and may charge us wrongfully, and think that you were struck without a cause by some of our own warriors, and by our cousins. But if you look a little about you, you will find that you gave the first offence. For in time of profound peace, some of the Shawanese, passing through South Carolina, to go to war with their enemies, were taken up and put into prison. The English knew they were going to war, and that they used to do it every year, and yet after they had persuaded them in a friendly way into their houses, they were taken up and put into prison, and one who was a head man of that nation lost his life, and the others were severely used. This first raised ill-will in the minds of the Shawanese, and as the French came a little while after this happened to settle on the Ohio the Shawanese complained of it to them, and they made an artful use of it, set them against the English, and gave them the hatchet. Being resolved on revenge they accepted it, and likewise spoke to their grandfathers, the Delawares, saying, grandfathers, are not your hearts sore at our being used so ill, and at the loss of one of our chiefs? Will you not join us in avenging his death? So by degrees our young men were brought over to act against you. On searching matters to the bottom you will find that you in this matter gave the first offence. This we thought proper to let you know. It may be of service for the future. You may be induced by this to take better care in conducting your council business, so as to guard against these breaches of friendship, or as soon as they happen, in corresponding immediately with one another, and with the Indian nations who are in anywise concerned on such occasion. (Here he gave eight strings of black wampum.)

"Brethren, this was the case of the Shawanese that I have just now related. Another of like nature has since happened to the Senecas, who have suffered in the same manner. About three years ago eight Seneca warriors were returning from war through

Virginia, having seven prisoners and scalps with them. At a place called Green Briar, they met with a party of soldiers, not less than one hundred and fifty, who kindly invited them to come to a certain store, and said they would supply them with provisions. And accordingly they travelled two days with them, in a friendly manner, and when they came to the house, they took their arms from the Senecas. The head man cried out, 'Here is death, defend yourselves as well as you can,' which they did, and two of them were killed on the spot, and one, a young boy, was taken prisoner. This gave great offence, and the more so, as it was upon their warriors' road, and we were in perfect peace with our brethren. It provoked us to such a degree that we could not get over it.

"Brethren, you have justly demanded your prisoners; it is right, and we have given you an answer. And therefore, as we think this boy is alive, and somewhere among you, we desire you enquire for him. If he be alive return him. If you have swallowed him down your throats, which perhaps, may be the case, let us know it, and we will be content. His name is Squissatego. (Here he gave six strings of white wampum.)

"Brethren, we have one word more to mention of the same nature, and which was the very cause why the Indians at the Ohio left you. Brethren, when we first heard of the French coming to Ohio, we immediately sent word to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania; we desired them to come, and likewise to supply us with such things as were proper for war, intending to defend our lands, and hinder the French from taking possession of them. But these Governors did not attend to our message; perhaps they thought there was no foundation for our intelligence. The French, however, came, and became our neighbors, and you neither coming yourselves, nor assisting us with warlike stores, our people of necessity were obliged to trade with them for what we wanted, as your traders had left the country. The Governor of Virginia took care to settle on our lands for his own benefit, but when we wanted his assistance against the French, he disregarded us. (A belt.)

"Brethren, at this treaty you justly demanded to see our flesh and blood. We have pressed this on our cousins, the Minisinks, and they by this string, desired us to assure you, the Governors, that they would make strict search in their towns, and sin-

cerely comply with your request, and return all the prisoners in their power." (Here he gave two strings of black and white wampum.)

Then directing his discourse to the Governor of Jersey, he proceeded:

"Brother, the Governor of Jersey, our cousins, the Minisinks, tell us they were wronged out of a great deal of land, and the English settling so fast they were pushed back, and could not tell what lands belonged to them. They say, if we have been drunk, tell us so. We may have forgot what we sold, but we trust to you, the Governor of Jersey, to take our cause in hand, and see that we have justice done us. We say that we have here and there tracts of land that have never been sold. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild creatures, and will not let us come on your land to hunt after them. You will not so much as let us peel a single tree. This is hard and has given us great offence. The cattle you raise are your own, but those which are wild are still ours, or should be common to both; for when we sold the land, we did not propose to deprive ourselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a stick of wood when we should have occasion. We desire the Governor to take this matter into his care and see that justice be done to it." (He here gave two strings of white wampum.)

In the conference on October 26th the following speech was delivered by the members of the Pennsylvania Council and agreed to by Governor Bernard.

"Brethren, as we have now settled all differences, and confirmed the ancient leagues of amity, and brightened the chain of friendship, we now clean the blood off your council seats, and put them in order, that when you hold councils at home, you may sit in your seats with the same peace and tranquility as you used to do. (A string consisting of a thousand grains of wampum.)

"Brethren, with this string of wampum we console with you for the loss of your wise men, and for the warriors that have been killed in these troublesome times, and likewise for your women and children, and we cover their graves decently agreeable to the custom of your forefathers. (A string of a thousand grains of wampum.)

"Brethren, we disperse the dark clouds that have hung over our heads, during these troubles, that we may see the sun clear,

and look on each other with the cheerfulness our forefathers did." (A string of a thousand grains of wampum.)

More belts were exchanged, and deeds were delivered and after some more addresses and drinking mutual healths with wine and punch, the conferences were concluded to the satisfaction of all.

This council was an affair of the greatest importance to the colony, and to all who were interested in the security of the frontier. The people came from every direction to see the famous warriors and to hear them speak. Some of these warriors were well known to the Antes brothers, through the meetings previously held at Bethlehem. Interested as they were, personally, in many of the people who had been sufferers from the ravages of the Indians, they would be the more likely now to attend and hear the explanation the Indians would give of their ferocious conduct.

For Henry Antes it was a fine opportunity to study Indian character when appearing in the defence of their rights as possessors of the land which had always been their hunting grounds. These warriors were not now in the attitude in which he had seen them when seeking the friendly hospitality of the Brethren in Bethlehem. Then they were pleasant, and gentle, and truculent as beggars, but now they were in all their dignity as the representatives of their people. They were not children, nor were they suppliants, but as equals meeting the pomp and ceremony of the white men with the grace and majesty that the freedom of the forests and the solemnity of the council chamber gave them.

The peace, however, was not destined to be of long duration.

Ridpath says: "No sooner were the English in complete possession of the country than they began by neglect and ill-treatment to excite the dormant passions of the Red men. During the progress of the war the Indians had been completely subordinated by French influence, and the English were hated with all the ferocity of the savage nature. It was not long till there were mutterings of an outbreak. The tribes could not be made to comprehend that Canada had been finally taken from their friends, the French. They confidently expected the day when the King of France should send new armies and expel the detested English. Infatuated with this belief, instigated by the French themselves, and stung by many insults, real and imaginary, the warriors began their usual atrocities on the frontiers. In the

summer of 1761, the Senecas conspired with the Wyandotts to capture Detroit by treachery, and massacre the garrison, and the plot was barely thwarted by Colonel Campbell, the commandant. In the following summer another attempt of a similar sort was discovered and defeated. It was in this condition of affairs that the celebrated Pontiac came forward and organized the most far-reaching and dangerous conspiracy ever known among the Indian tribes of America."

So far as the effect of this war was felt in Pennsylvania the following will indicate :

"The Indians around the great lakes, and on the Ohio, had cheerfully connived at the establishment of the French chain of forts from Presque Isle to the Monongahela, so long as they proved an obstacle to the encroachments of the English ; but they now saw the English in the possession of Canada, and this same chain of forts occupied as outposts from which further encroachments might be made toward the west. The forts themselves were an intrusion, for the lands upon which they stood had never yet been purchased from the Indians, or, if purchased, had been restored. The boundary of Indian purchases was still more than a hundred miles nearer the Atlantic. Other settlements, too, were built on the Susquehanna on Indian lands. The great Pontiac had conceived the gigantic plan of uniting all the northwestern tribes in a simultaneous and vigorous attack upon the whole frontier. Utter extermination was their object. The forts were to be taken by stratagem, by separate parties on the same day. The border settlements were to be invaded during harvest, and men, crops, cattle and cabins were to be destroyed. The English traders among the Indians were the first victims ; out of one hundred and twenty, only two or three escaped. The frontier settlements among and near the mountains were overrun with scalping parties marking their track with blood and fire. Consternation spread throughout all the settlements on the Juniata and the Susquehanna, and the dismayed inhabitants with their children and flocks sought shelter at Shippensburg, Carlisle, Lancaster and Reading. The garrison at Fort Augusta was reinforced, and Colonel Armstrong with about three hundred volunteers from Cumberland and Bedford counties went up the Susquehanna and routed several parties of hostile Indians."

This was followed by the general uprising of the settlers

known as Paxton Boys, who because of the slowness of the authorities to afford them adequate protection took the matter in their own hands and proceeded to murder all Indians, peaceful or otherwise, upon whom they could lay their hands.

CHAPTER XV.

THE INDIAN AT HOME.

HOW DIFFERENTLY the red man appeared to the white men of his day, as they struggled for the possession of the forests and streams of this beautiful land, from what the historian or the kindly disposed lover of humanity pictures him in this day. Logan in peace seems to be a creature impossible to transform into the demon known as Logan in war. It seems equally impossible to transform the peaceful settlers along the Susquehanna, as known to-day, into the fiends known as the Paxton Boys. There was a great deal of attractiveness in the home life of the Indians before they came in contact with the vices of the white men. They were truthful and brave. They loved their families and lived happily. But contact with the whites demoralized them and they rapidly descended to a lower level of life. When they were deprived of their lands, they began to show the bloodthirstiness of their natures. The awful ferocity they exhibited in the Wyoming Valley was revenge for the loss of their lands. When they were filled with rum they revealed the beastliness into which they could fall. The Moravians were the means of their showing the noble and faithful consecration they were capable of when following the Lord Jesus Christ. What a misfortune it was that they were not christianized instead of being degraded by the white man's vices. We are not in doubt of the attractive features of their forest life, because there are many witnesses who have told us the particulars of it. From some of these, who are indisputable witnesses, we will now quote:

We will begin with their homes: "The bark they make their cabins with is generally cedar red, or white, or cypress. Sometimes when they are a great way from these woods they use pine bark. In building they get very long poles of any wood that will bend, which they strip of the bark, and warm them well in the fire, which makes them tough and fit to bend. Afterwards they stick the thickest ends of them in the ground, about two

yards asunder, in a circular form, the distance they design the wigwam to be, then they bend the tops and bring them together, and bind their ends with bark of trees that is proper for that use as elm is, or sometimes the moss that grows on trees; then they brace them with poles to make them strong; afterwards cover them all over with bark so that they are very warm and tight, and will keep firm against all the weathers that blow. They have other sorts of cabins, without windows, which are for their granaries, skins, merchandise, and others that are covered over head, the rest left open for the air. These have reed hurdles like tables, to lie and sit on in summer, and serve for pleasant banqueting houses in the hot season of the year. The cabins they dwell in have benches all around, except where the door stands, on these they lay the skin of beasts, and mats made of rushes, whereon they sleep and loll. In one of these several families commonly live, though all related to one another.

"The domestic economy of the Indians required implements to perform the arts which we express by the words sewing and weaving. The awl and needle were made from various species of animal bones of the land and the water. The larger awl, used to perforate bark, in sewing together the sheathing of the northern canoe, made from the rind of the *betula*, was squared and brought to a tapering point. A very close grained and compact species of bone was employed for the fine lodge awl, used for sewing dressed skins for garments. After this skin had been perforated a thread of deer's sinew was drawn through from the eye of a slender bone needle. There was besides this a species of shuttle of bone which was passed backwards and forwards in introducing the bark woof of mats and bags; two kinds of articles, the work of which was commonly made from the larger bulrush. It was only necessary to exhibit the square and round awl, and gross and fine needle of steel, to supersede these primitive and rude modes of seamstress work and weaving.

"Amulets, and neck, head and ear ornaments, constituted a very ancient and important department in the arcanum of the Indian wardrobe. They were also connected with his superstitions and were a part of the external system of his religion. Those who believed in witchcraft wore them as charms. They were among the most cherished and valued articles he could possibly possess. They were sought after with great avidity at high

prices, and after having served their office of warding off evil while he lived, they were deposited in his grave at death. Bones, shells, carved stones, gems, claws and hoofs of animals, feathers of carnivorous birds, and above all, the skin of the serpent, were cherished with the utmost care and regarded with the utmost veneration. To be decked with suitable amulets was to him to be invested with a charmed life. They added to his feeling of security, and satisfaction in his daily avocations, and gave him new courage in war.

"But if such were the influence of pendants, shells, beads and other amulets, and ornaments, inspired by children who saw and heard what their parents prized, this influence took a deeper hold of their minds at and after the period of the virile fast, when the power of dreams and visions was added to the sum of their experimental knowledge of divine things, so to call them.

"To fix it still stronger, the Indian system of medicine, which admits the power of necromancy, lent its aid. And thus long before the period which the civilized code has fixed on to determine man's legal acts, the aboriginal man was fixed, and grounded, and educated in the doctrine of charms, talismans and amulets.

"The principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, beans, pumpkins, squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbage and turnips, which they raise in their fields. They make use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods by way of relish, or as seasoning, sometimes also from necessity. They commonly make two meals a day, which they say is enough. The hunter prefers going out with his gun on an empty stomach; he says that hunger stimulates him to exertion, by reminding him continually of his wants, whereas a full stomach makes a hunter easy, careless and lazy, ever thinking of his home, and losing his time to no purpose. With all their industry, nevertheless, many a day passes over their heads that they have not met with any kind of game, nor consequently, tasted a morsel of victuals; still they go on with their chase, in hopes of being able to carry some provision home, and do not give up the pursuit until it is so dark they can no longer see. The morning and evening are the precious hours for the hunter. They lose nothing by sleeping in the middle of the day, that is, between ten A. M. and four P. M. The hunter who has no meat in the house,

will be off and in the woods before daylight, and strive to be in again before breakfast with a deer, turkey, goose, bear or raccoon, or some other game then in season. Meanwhile his wife has pounded her corn, now boiling on the fire, and baked her bread, which gives them a good breakfast. If the husband is not returned by ten o'clock, the family take their meal by themselves, and his share is put aside for him when he comes.

"The Indians have a number of ways of preparing corn. They make a pottage of it by boiling it with fresh or dried meat, the latter pounded, dried pumpkins, dry beans and chestnuts. They sometimes sweeten it with sugar or syrup from the maple trees. Another dish is boiling with the corn the washed kernels of the shellbark. They pound the nuts in a mortar, pouring a little warm water on them, gradually, as they become dry, until, at last, there is a sufficient quantity of water so that by stirring up the pounded nuts, the broken shells separate from the liquor, which from the pounded kernels assumes the appearance of milk. This being put into the kettle, and mixed with the pottage, gives it a rich and agreeable flavor.

"They also prepared a variety of dishes from the pumpkin, the squash and the green French or kidney beans; they are very particular in their choice of pumpkins and squashes, and in their manner of preparing them. The less water put to them the better, and best of all to be steamed in their own sap. They cover up the pots in which they cook them with large leaves of the pumpkin vine, cabbages or other leaves of the larger kind. They make an excellent preserve from the cranberry and crab apple, to which, after it has been well stewed, they add a proper quantity of sugar or molasses. Their bread is of two kinds; one made of green corn while in the milk, and another of the same grain when fully ripe and quite dry. This last is pounded as fine as possible, then sifted and kneaded into dough, and afterwards made up into cakes of six inches diameter and about an inch in thickness rounded off on the edge. In baking these cakes they are extremely particular; the ashes must be clean and hot, and, if possible, come out of a good dry oak bark, which they say gives a brisk and durable heat. In the dough of this kind of bread, they frequently mix boiled pumpkins, green or dried beans, or well paired chestnuts boiled in the same manner, dried venison well pounded, whortle berries, green or dry, but not boiled, sugar and other pal-

atable ingredients. For the other kind of bread the green corn is either pounded or mashed, and put in broad green corn blades, generally filled in with a ladle well wrapped up, and baked in the ashes like the other. This is a very sweet and delicate morsel. Their Psindamocan or Tassamanane, as they call it, is the most nourishing and durable food made out of the Indian corn. The blue sweetish kind is what they prefer for that purpose. They parch it in clean hot ashes until it bursts, it is then sifted, and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use they take about a tablespoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river, or brook, drink water to it. If, however, they have a cup they put the flour in it, and mix it with water in the proportion of one tablespoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry. More than one or two spoonfuls at one meal is dangerous, for it is apt to swell in the stomach or bowels, as when heated over a fire. Their meat they either boil, roast or broil. Their roasting is done by running a wooden spit through the meat, sharpened at each end, which they place near the fire and occasionally turn. They broil on clean coals drawn off from the fire for that purpose. They often laugh at the white hunters for baking their bread in dirty ashes, and being alike careless of cleanliness when they broil their meat. They are fond of dried venison pounded in a mortar and dipped in bear's oil. The Delawares, Mohicans and Shawanese are very particular in their choice of meats, and nothing short of the most pressing hunger can induce them to eat of certain animals, such as the horse, dog, wild cat, panther, fox, muskrat, wolf, &c. There was but little of the animal life in the forest or in the waters but what was used as food by the Indians. Young wasps white in the comb were regarded as a dainty morsel. Fawns in the womb were esteemed a great delicacy. Besides the common fruits and vegetables, the tubercous roots of the smilax were dug up and while still fresh and full of juice were chopped up and macerated well in wooden mortars. When thoroughly beaten, this pulpy mass was put in earthen vessels contain-

ing clean water. Here it was stirred with wooden paddles, or with the hands. The lighter particles floating on the top were poured off. A farinaceous matter was left at the bottom of the vessel, which, when taken out and dried, remained an impalpable powder or farina of a reddish color. Boiled in water this powder formed a beautiful jelly, which, when sweetened, was both agreeable and nourishing. In combination with corn flour and when fried in fresh bear's grease it made excellent fritters.

"Walnuts and hickory nuts were diligently collected, cracked and boiled in vessels, when the oil, which rose to the surface, was skimmed off and carefully preserved in covered earthen jars. This oil was highly esteemed in the preparation of corn cakes. Of the seeds of the sunflower they also made bread. The amexias was freely eaten and ripe persimmons were pressed into cakes and stored away for consumption during the winter months. Grapes were dried in the sun and collected in the public and private storehouses. Wild honey was also gathered. Captain Romans asserts that the Indians never ate salt meats or boiled their food with salt. Yet they used salt in abundance."

Preparation of skins: "They first soaked them in water. The hair was then removed by the aid of a bone or stone scraper. Deer's brains were next dissolved in water, and in this mixture the skins were allowed to remain until they became thoroughly saturated. They were then gently dried, and while drying were continually worked by hand and scraped with an oyster shell, or some suitable stone implement, to free them from every impurity and render them soft and pliable. In order that they might not become hard, when exposed to rain, they were cured in smoke, and tanned with the bark of trees. Young Indian corn beaten to a pulp answered the same purpose as the deer's brains."

Captain John Smith's description of Indian costumes: "For their apparel they are sometimes covered with the skins of wild beasts, which in winter are dressed with the hair, but in summer without. The better sort use large mantels of deer skins, not much differing in fashion from the Irish mantles. Some embroidered with white beads, some with copper, others painted after their manner.

"But the common sort have scarce to cover their nakedness but with grass, the leaves of trees, and the like. We have seen some mantels made of turkey feathers so prettily wrought and

woven with threads that nothing could be discerned but the feathers. That was exceeding warm and handsome. But the women are always covered about their loins with a skin, and very shameful to be seen bare. They adorn themselves most with copper beads and paintings. Some have their legs, hands, breast and face cunningly embroidered with diverse works as beasts, serpents, artificially wrought into their flesh with black spots. In each ear they commonly have three great holes whereat they hang chains, bracelets or copper. Some of the men wear in those holes a small green and yellow colored snake nearly half a yard in length, which crawling and lapping itself about his neck oftentimes would familiarly kiss his lips. Others wore a dead rat tied by the tail. Some on their heads wear the wing of a bird or some large feather with a rattle. Those rattles are somewhat the shape of a rapier but less, which they take from the tail of a snake. Many have the whole skin of a hawk or some strange fowl stuffed with the wings abroad. Others, a broad piece of copper, and some the hand of their enemy dried. Their heads and shoulders are painted red with the root pocone brayed to powder mixed with oil; this they hold in summer to preserve them from the heat, and in winter from the cold. Many other forms of painting they use, but he is the most gallant that is the most monstrous to behold.

“The cloaks of the women were made of the bark of the mulberry tree, or of the feathers of swans, ducks and turkeys. The bark of young mulberry shoots were first dried in the sun and then beaten so as to cause all the woody parts to fall off. The remaining threads were then beaten the second time, and bleached by exposure to the dew. When well whitened they were spun and twisted into thread. Garments were woven in the following manner: Two stakes were planted in the ground about a yard and a half a part. A cord was then stretched from one to the other, to which were fastened double threads of bark. By hand other threads were curiously interwoven so as in the end to form a cloak about a yard square with wrought borders about the edges.

“Young men vied with one another in the decorations upon their vestments, painting themselves profusely with vermilion, wearing bracelets of the ribs of deer, softened in boiling water, then bent into the required shape and finally polished so that they

resembled ivory, fancy necklaces like the women, carrying fans in their hands, clipping off the hair from the crowns of their heads and substituting a piece of swan's skin with the down upon it, fastening the finest white feathers to the hairs which remained, and suffering a part of their hair to grow long so that they could weave it into a cue hanging over the left ear. The dress of the Indians in peace and war is quite different. When they go to war their hair is combed out by the women and done over very much with bear's grease and red root, with feathers, wings, rings, copper and paak or wampum in their ears. They buy vermillion of the Indian traders, wherewith they paint their faces all over red, and commonly make a circle of black about one eye and another circle of white about the other, whilst others bedaub their faces with tobacco-pipe clay, lampblack, black lead and divers other colors, which they make with the several sorts of minerals and earths which they get in different parts of the country where they hunt and travel. When they are thus painted they make the most frightful figures that can be imitated by men, and seem more like devils than human beings. In all the hostilities against the English at any time, the savages always appeared in this disguise, whereby they might never after be discovered or known by any of the Christians that should happen to see them after they had made their escape; for it is impossible ever to know an Indian under these colors, although he had been at your house a thousand times. As for their women they never paint their faces.

"In ancient times the dress of the Indians was made of the skins of animals, and feathers. This clothing they say was not only warmer, but lasted much longer than any woollen goods purchased of the white people. They can dress any skin, even that of the buffalo, so that it becomes quite soft and supple, and a good buffalo or bear skin blanket will serve them many years without wearing out. Beaver and raccoon skin blankets are also pliant, warm and durable. They sew together as many of these skins as are necessary, carefully setting the hair, or fur, all the same way, so that the blanket or covering be smooth, and the rain do not penetrate, but run off. In wearing these fur blankets, they are regulated by the weather. If it is cold and dry, the fur is placed next the body, but in warm and wet weather they have it outside. Some made themselves frocks of fine fur, and the women's petticoats in the winter season were also made of them, otherwise of

dressed deer skin, the same as their shirts, leggings and shoes. They say that shoes made of dressed bear skin with the hair on, and turned inside, are very warm, and in dry weather, durable. With the large rib bones of the elk and buffalo, they shaved the hair off the skins they dressed, and even now they say that they can clean a skin as well with a well prepared rib bone as with a knife. The blankets made from feathers were also warm and durable. They were the work of the women, particularly of the old, who delight in such work, and indeed in any work which shows that they are able to do their part and be useful to society. It requires great patience, being the most tedious kind of work I have ever seen them perform, yet they do it in a most ingenious manner. The feathers, generally those of the turkey and goose, are so curiously arranged and interwoven together with threads or twine, which they prepare from the rind or bark of the wild hemp and nettle, that ingenuity and skill cannot be denied them. They show the same talent in making their 'Happis,' the bands with which they carry their bags and other burdens. They make these very strong and lasting. The present dress of the Indians is well known to consist in blankets, plain or ruffled shirts, and leggings for the men, and petticoats for the women, made of cloth, generally red, blue or black. The wealthy adorn themselves besides with ribbons and garterings of various colors, beads and silver broaches. These ornaments are arranged by the women, who, as well as the men, know how to dress themselves in style. Those of the men principally consist in the painting of themselves, their head and face principally, shaving, of good clean garments, silver arm spangles and breast plates, and a belt or two of wampum hanging to their necks. The women, at the expense of their husbands or lovers, line their petticoat and blue or scarlet cloth blanket or covering, with choice ribbons of various colors or with garterings on which they fix a number of silver broaches or small round buckles. They adorn their leggings in the same manner with colored porcupine quills, and are besides almost entirely covered with trinkets. They have, moreover, a number of little bells and brass thimbles fixed around their ankles, which, when they walk, make a tinkling noise which is heard at some distance; this is intended to draw the attention of those who pass by, that they may look at and admire them. The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful

and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes.

"The men have deer's claws fixed to their braced garters or knee bands, and also to their shoes, for they consider jingling and rattling as indispensably necessary to their performances in the way of dancing.

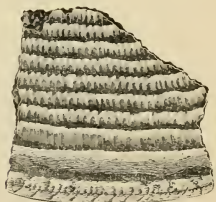
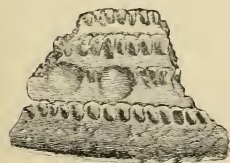
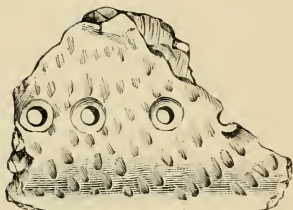
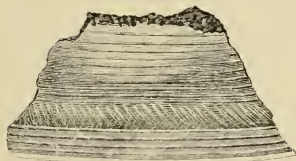
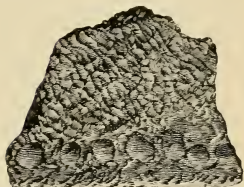
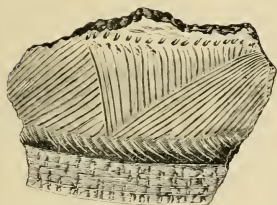
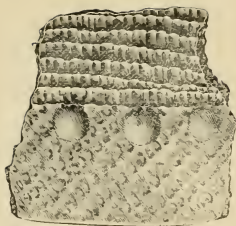
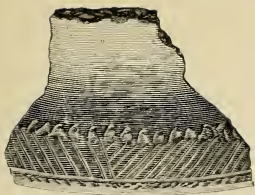
"The notion that the Indians are beardless by nature and have no hair on their bodies is now laid aside; they pluck out their beards with tweezers made expressly for that purpose. Before the Europeans came, their apparatus for performing this work consisted of a pair of muscle shells sharpened on a gritty stone somewhat like pincers. But now they always carry with them brass wire tweezers, and when at leisure pluck out their beards or the hair above their foreheads. The principal reason which they give for doing this is, that they may have a clean skin to lay the paint on when they dress for their festivals and dances, and to facilitate the tattooing, a custom formerly much in use amongst them, especially with those who had distinguished themselves by their valor and acquired celebrity. They say that either painting or tattooing on a hairy face or body would appear disgusting."

Indian Pottery.

In manufacturing their pottery for cooking and domestic purposes, they collect tough clay, beat it into powder, temper it with water, and then spread it over blocks of wood which have been formed into shapes to suit their convenience or fancy. When sufficiently dry they are removed from the moulds, placed in proper situations, and burned to a hardness suitable to their intended uses. Ornamentation was accomplished in one of the following ways:

1. By modelling the vessel inside of a network, rush-basket, or frame made of twigs or split cane, or within a gourd, or over blocks of wood, or forms of dried clay. It seems, moreover, from the delicacy of some of the impressions, that a sort of cloth must have been first spread against the sides of the enclosing basket or framework, before the clay was put in and pressed against it. Perhaps, in some instances, the interior walls of the gourd may have been carved, so as to leave raised figures and lines upon the vessel moulded within it.

2. By shaping the kneaded clay into the desired form, with



Specimens of Pottery from the collection of J. M. M. Gernard,
Muncy, Pa.

the hand, leaving the outer surface smooth, and, when the pot was dry, with a sharp flint-flake or bone carving straight, curved and zigzag lines with greater or less uniformity according to the care, patience and skill of the artificer.

3. The circular and semi-circular depressions—with or without elevated centers—could have been made by means of a hollow reed cut off at or near a joint, as might indicate the artist's present fancy. It is not improbable that some of the indentations formed while the clay was still in a plastic state, were done with the finger nail, which the Indians, in some cases, and for certain purposes, permitted to grow very long. Lines were impressed with the aid of a thong, while the more complicated figures may have been perpetuated with the assistance of a wooden or soap-stone die, in which the desired pattern was cut. Repeated applications of the same die to all the exterior portions of the vessel gave a uniform ornamentation. The use of several dies of different designs materially enhanced the variety.

4. Frequently raised mouldings near the rims, and elevated ornaments were added while the vessel was still soft, and when the adhesion of these new parts could be readily compassed.

5. The sides of the vessels were sometimes beautified by the insertion of diamond and square-shaped parallelogramic and circular pieces of mica and shell. Over the edges of these inserted or impressed ornaments the clay was slightly curved, so that when the ware was thoroughly dry, these pieces of mica and shell remained permanently imbedded.

6. The ornamentation of this earthenware was further accomplished by means of red, blue and black pigment.

When completed the newly-formed vessel was either exposed in the sun, baked in a kiln or open fire, or inverted over burning coals of some hard wood, such as oak or hickory, piled up so as to fill as nearly as possible the whole interior. In the manner last mentioned was the baking process often conducted, the bed of coals being at intervals renewed, and arranged in conical form, so as to distribute the heat equally to every part of the pot. So intense at times was the heat employed, that the vessel glowed, and a fusion of the particles on the inner surface occurred. When sufficiently baked, the vessel was allowed to cool gradually, in its hardened condition permanently retaining the impressions which had at first been made upon its plastic form.

Shad Fishing.

When the shad fish come up the rivers the Indians run up a dam of stones across the stream where its depth will admit of it, not on a straight line but in two parts verging towards each other in an angle. An opening is left in the middle for the water to run off. At this opening they place a large box, the bottom of which is full of holes. They then make a rope of the twigs of the wild vine, reaching across the stream upon which boughs of about six feet in length are fastened at the distance of about two fathoms from each other. A party is detached about a mile above the dam with this rope and its appendages, who begin to move gently down the current some guiding one, some the opposite end, while others keep the branches from sinking by supporting the rope in the middle with wooden forks. Thus they proceed frightening the fishes into the opening left in the middle of the dam, where a number of Indians are placed on each side, who, standing upon the two legs of the angles drive the fish with poles and an hideous noise through the opening into the above mentioned box or chest. There they lie, the water running off through the holes in the bottom, and other Indians stationed on either side of the chest take them out, kill them, and fill their canoes.

Another method of fishing is as follows: When they see large fish near the surface of the water, they fire directly upon them, sometimes only with powder, which noise and surprise, however, so stupifies them that they instantly turn up their bellies and float atop, when the fishermen secure them. If they shoot at fish not deep in the water either with an arrow or a bullet, they aim at the lower part of the belly if they are near; and lower in like manner according to the distance, which seldom fails of killing. In a dry summer season they gather horse chestnuts and different sorts of roots, which having pounded pretty fine and steeped a while in a trough, they scatter this mixture over the surface of a middle-sized pond, and stir it about with poles, till the water is sufficiently impregnated with the intoxicating bittern. The fish are soon inebriated, and make to the surface of the water with their bellies uppermost. The fishers gather them in baskets and barbecue the largest, covering them carefully over at night to preserve them from the supposed putrifying influence of the moon. It seems that fish caught in this manner are not poisoned, but only

stupified; for they prove very wholesome food. When they are speedily moved into good water they revive in a few minutes.

Indian Games—Chungke.

“They have a square piece of ground well cleaned and with white sand carefully strewed over it when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one or two on a side play this game. They have a stone about two inches broad at the edge, and two spans round; each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off abreast of each other at six yards from the end of the playground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge in as direct a line as he can a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square. When they have run a few yards each darts his pole, annointed with bear’s oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess, in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may lie close to the stone. When this is the case the person counts two of the game, and in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring both are found to be at an equal distance from the stone. In this manner the players will keep running most of the day at half speed under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger and ear rings, their breast, arm and wrist plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their loins. The hurling stones were rubbed smooth on the rocks and with prodigious labor; they are kept with the strictest religious care from one generation to another, and are exempted from being buried with the dead. They belong to the town, where they are used and are carefully preserved.”

Indian Dances.

“Mr. Bartram asserts that the Southern Indians were all fond of music and dancing, the music being both vocal and instrumental. Among the musical instruments he enumerates the tambour, the rattle gourd, and a kind of flute made of the joint of a reed, or of a deer’s tibia. The last he pronounces a howling instrument, producing, instead of harmony, a hideous melancholy discord. With the tambour and rattle, however, accompanied by sweet low voices, he confesses himself well pleased. These

gourd rattles contained corn, beans or small pebbles, and were shaken by hand or struck against the ornamental posts which marked the dancing ring, in exact time with the movements of the performers. Large earthen pots, tightly covered with dressed deer skin, answered as drums. The shells of terrapins were also fastened to the ankles, or suspended from the waist belts. These being partially filled with small stones or beans, with every motion of the body gave utterance to rattling sounds. The leather stockings of the young dancing women of the Creeks were hung full of the hoofs of the roe-deer in form of bells, in so much as to make them sound exactly like castagnettes. Captain Romans counted four hundred and ninety-three of these horn bells attached to one pair of stockings. Nine women, whose hose was similarly furnished, were present at the dance. Allowing the same number of these tinkling ornaments to each, one thousand one hundred and ten deers must have been killed to furnish them. These musical instruments were supplemented by voices plaintive or vehement, slow or rapid, as best accorded with the character of the dance. Their songs, whether of war, or devotion, harvest or hunting, consisted of but few words and scanty intonations repeated in the most monotonous way. In the vicinity of the village was a spot specially prepared for, and devoted to the dance. Here a fire was nightly kindled, and all who had a mind to be merry assembled each evening. The place was a level spot in the midst of a broad plain, circular in shape, about which are planted in the ground posts carved with heads like the faces of nuns covered with their veils, the center being occupied by three of the fairest virgins of the company, which, embracing one another, do, as it were, turn about in their dancing. Around these, and following the line of the posts, fancifully attired and bearing in their hands the branches of trees and gourd rattles, with which they keep time by striking them against the posts, are, wildly singing and dancing in the cool of the evening, the natives assembled for the celebration of their solemn feasts.

"Many of these dances were of a purely social character and were participated in every night by way of amusement. Others were designated by violent exercise to prepare the actors to endure fatigue and improve their wind. Others still were had in commemoration of war, of peace and of hunting. Others in the early spring, when the seed was sown, others when the harvest

was ended; others—wild and terrible—in presence of captured victims, doomed to torture and death; while others, with slow and solemn movement, and carefully observed ceremonies, were conducted in honor of some religious festival. Every occasion was provocative of this amusement. The most admired and practised step is a slow, shuffling, alternate step; both feet move forward, one after the other, in opposite circles; first a circle of young men, and within, a circle of young women moving together opposite ways, the men with the course of the sun, and the females contrary to it; the men strike their arm with the open hand, and the girls clap hands and raise their shrill sweet voices, answering an elevated shout of the men at stated times of termination of the stanzas; and the girls perform an interlude or chorus separately. To accompany their dances they have songs of different classes as martial, bacchanalian, amorous and moral, which seem to be the most esteemed and practised, and answer the purpose of religious lectures.

“The occasion of which they availed themselves to perform the ceremony of conferring upon young Morris his new name, was a religious observance when the whole sixteen hundred Indians present at the treaty united in an offering to the moon, then being at her full. The ceremonies were performed in the evening. It was a clear night and the moon shone with uncommon brilliancy. The host of Indians and their neophyte were all seated upon the ground in an extended circle on one side of which a large fire was kept burning. The aged Cayuga chieftain, Fish-Carrier, who was held in exalted veneration for his wisdom, and who had been greatly distinguished for his bravery from his youth up, officiated as the High Priest of the occasion, making a long speech to the luminary, occasionally throwing tobacco into the fire as incense. On the conclusion of the address, the whole assembly prostrated themselves upon the bosom of their parent earth, and a grunting sound of approbation was uttered from mouth to mouth around the entire circle. At a short distance from the fire a post had been planted in the earth—intended to represent the stake of torture to which captives are bound for execution. After the ceremonies in favor of Madame Luna had been ended, they commenced a war dance around the post, and the spectacle must have been as picturesque as it was animating and wild. The young braves engaged in the dance were naked excepting the breech-clout about

the loins. They were painted frightfully—their backs being chalked white with irregular streaks of red denoting the streaming of blood. Frequently would they cease from dancing while one of their number ran to the fire snatching thence a blazing stick placed there for that purpose, which he would thrust at the post, as though inflicting torture upon a prisoner. In the course of the dance they sang their songs and made the forest ring with their wild screams and shouts, as they boasted of their deeds of war, and told the number of scalps they had respectively taken or which had been taken by their nation. During the dance those engaged in it—as did others also—partook freely of unmixed rum; and by consequence of the natural excitement of the occasion, and the artificial excitement of the liquor, the festival had well nigh turned out a tragedy. It happened that among the dancers was an Oneida warrior, who, in striking the post, boasted of the number of scalps taken by his nation during the war of the Revolution. The Oneidas had espoused the cause of the Colonies in that contest, while the rest of the Iroquois confederacy had espoused that of the Crown. The boasting of the Oneida warrior, therefore, was like striking a spark into a keg of gunpowder. The ire of the Senecas was kindled in an instant, and they in turn boasted of the number of scalps taken by them from the Oneidas in that contest. They moreover taunted the Oneidas as cowards. Quick as lightning the hands of the latter were upon their weapons, and in turn the knives and tomahawks of the Senecas began to glitter in the moonbeams as they were hastily drawn forth. For an instant it was a scene of anxious and almost breathless suspense, a death struggle seeming inevitable, when the storm was hushed by the interposition of old Fish Carrier, who rushed forward and striking the post with violence exclaimed, ‘You are all of you a parcel of boys; when you have attained my age, and performed the warlike deeds that I have performed, you may boast what you have done; not till then.’ Saying which he threw down the post, put an end to the dance, and caused the assembly to retire. The scene in its reality must have been one of absorbing and peculiar interest. An assembly of nearly two thousand inhabitants of the forest grotesquely clad in skins and strouds, with shining ornaments of silver, and their coarse raven hair falling over their shoulders and playing wildly in the wind as it swept past, sighing mournfully among the branches of the trees above,

such a group gathered in a broad circle in an opening of the wilderness, the starry canopy of heaven glittering above them, the moon casting her silver mantle around their dusky forms, and a large fire blazing in the midst of them, before which they were working their spells and performing their savage rites, must have presented a spectacle of long and vivid remembrance.

"It is a pleasing spectacle to see the Indian dances when intended merely for social diversion and innocent amusement. Their songs are by no means harmonious. They sing in chorus, first the men and then the women. At times the women join in the general song or repeat the strain which the men have just finished. It seems like two parties singing in questions and answers, and is upon the whole very agreeable and livening. After thus singing for about a quarter of an hour they conclude each song with a loud yell, which is not in accord with the rest of the music. It is not unlike the cat bird which closes its pretty song with mew-ing like a cat. The singing always begins by one person only, but others soon fall in successively, until the general chorus begins, the drum beating all the while to mark the time. The voices of the women are full and clear, and their intonations generally correct.

"Their war dances have nothing engaging; their object on the contrary, is to strike terror to the beholder. They are dressed and painted, or rather bedaubed with paint in a manner suitable to the occasion. They hold the murderous weapon in their hand and imitate in their dance all the warlike attitudes, motions and actions which are usual in an engagement with the enemy, and strive to excel each other by their terrific looks and gestures. They generally perform round a painted post set up for that purpose, in a large room, or place enclosed or surrounded with posts and roofed with the bark of trees; sometimes this dance is executed in the open air. There every man presents himself in warrior's array, contemptuously looking upon the painted post as if it was the enemy whom he is about to engage; as he passes by it he strikes, stabs, grasps, pretends to scalp, to cut, to run through; in short, shows what he would do to a real enemy if he had him in his power. It was an ancient custom to perform this dance round a prisoner, and as they danced to make him undergo every kind of torture previous to putting him to death. The prisoner appeared to partake in the merriment, contemptuously scoffing at

his executioner as being unskilled in the art of inflicting torments; strange as this conduct may appear, it was not without a sufficient motive. It was to rouse his relentless tormentors to such a pitch of fury that some of them might at an unguarded moment give him the finishing stroke and put him out of his pain. Previous to going out on a warlike campaign the war dance is performed. It is their mode of recruiting. Whoever joins the dance is obliged to go with the party. After returning from a successful expedition a dance of thanksgiving is always performed, which partakes of the character of a religious ceremony. It is accompanied with singing and choruses, in which the women join. But they take no part in the rest of the performance. At the end of every song the scalp yell is shouted as many times as there have been scalps taken from the enemy.

"The Indians also meet occasionally to recount their warlike exploits, which is done in a kind of half singing or recitative. The oldest warrior recites first, then they go on in rotation and in order of seniority, the drum beating all the time as it were to give to the relation the greater appearance of reality.

"Their songs are of the warlike, or of the tender and the pathetic kind. They are sung in short sentences, not without some kind of measure, harmonious to an Indian ear. Their accent is very pathetic."

Song of the Lenape warriors going against the enemy :

O poor me!
Who am going out to fight the enemy,
And know not whether I shall return again
To enjoy the embraces of my children
And my wife.

O poor creature!
Whose life is not in his own hands,
Who has no power over his own body,
But tries to do his duty
For the welfare of his nation.
O! thou Great Spirit above!
Take pity on my children
And on my wife!

Prevent their mourning on my account!
Grant that I may be successful in this attempt—
That I may slay mine enemy,

And bring home the trophies of war
To my dear family and friends,
That we may rejoice together.
O! Take pity on me!

Give me strength and courage to meet my enemy,
Suffer me to return again to my children,
To my wife,
And to my relations!
Take pity on me and preserve my life,
And I will make to thee a sacrifice.

“There are some animals, which, though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and entitled to some notice and tokens of gratitude. Thus when in the night an owl is heard sounding its note or calling to its mate some person in the camp will rise and take some Glicanican, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down: It happened at one time when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors were in the camp fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly the great Sentinel over mankind, the Owl, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out as if saying: ‘Up! Up! Danger! Danger!’ Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant, when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and that they would all have been killed in their sleep if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

“After a successful war the Indians never fail to offer up a sacrifice to the great Being, to return him thanks for having given them courage and strength to destroy or conquer their enemies. Previous to entering upon the solemnity of their sacrifice they prepare themselves by vomiting, fasting and drinking decoctions from certain described plants. They do this to expel the evil which is within them and that they may with a pure conscience attend to the sacred performance. There are sacrifices of prayer and sacrifices of thanksgiving, some for all the favors received by

them and their ancestors, others for special or particular benefits. Warriors think it necessary to bring home the scalps of those they have killed or disabled, as visible proofs of their valor; otherwise they are afraid that their relation of the combat and the account they give of their individual prowess might be doubted or disbelieved. These scalps are dried up, painted and preserved as trophies, and a warrior is esteemed in proportion to the number of them that he can show. It is a well known fact that the Indians pluck out all their hair except one tuft on the crown of their heads, which is that they might take off each other's scalps with the greater facility. 'When we go to fight an enemy,' say they, 'we meet on equal ground, and we take off each other's scalps if we can. The conquerer, whoever he may be, is entitled to have something to show his bravery and his triumph, and it would be ungenerous in a warrior to deprive an enemy of the means of acquiring that glory of which he himself is in pursuit.' A warrior's conduct ought to be manly, else he is no man. As this custom prevails among all the Indian nations, it would seem to be the result of a tacit agreement among them to leave the usual trophies of victory accessible to the contending warriors on all sides. It is an awful spectacle to see the Indian warriors return home from a successful expedition with their prisoners and the scalps taken in battle. It is not unlike the return of a victorious army from the field with the prisoners and the colors taken from the enemy, but the appearance is far more frightful and terrific. The scalps are carried in front fixed on the end of a thin pole about five or six inches in length; the prisoners follow and the warriors advance shouting the dreadful scalp yell which has been called by some the death halloo. For every head taken dead or alive a separate shout is given. In this yell or whoop there is a mixture of triumph and terror; its elements seem to be glory and fear so as to express at once the feelings of the shouting warriors and those which they have inspired in their enemies.

"Different from this yell is the alarm whoop, which is never sounded but when danger is near. It is performed in quick succession. Both this and the scalp yell consist of the sounds aw, and oh, successively uttered, the last more accented and sounded higher than the first; but in the scalp yell this last sound is drawn out at great length, as long, indeed, as the breath will hold, and is raised about an octave higher than the former, while in the alarm

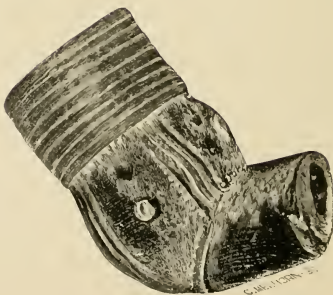
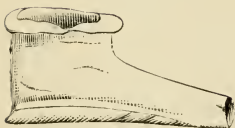
whoop, it is rapidly struck on, as it were, and only a few notes above the other. These yells or whoops are dreadful indeed, and well calculated to strike with terror those whom long habit has not accustomed to them. It is difficult to describe the impression which the scalp yell makes on a person who hears it for the first time."

CHAPTER XVI.

SOCIAL EDUCATION.

Account of Indian Money, by John Lawson.

THEIR MONEY is of different sorts, but all made of shells, which are found on the coast of Carolina, being very large and hard and difficult to cut. Some English smiths have tried to drill this sort of shell money, and thereby thought to get an advantage, but it proved so hard that nothing could be gained. The Indians often make of the same kind of shells as those of which their money is made, a sort of gorget, which they wear about their necks in a string; so it hangs on their collar, whereon is sometimes engraven a cross, or some odd sort of figure which comes next in their fancy. There are other sorts valued at a doe skin, yet the gorgets will sometimes sell for three or four buckskins ready dressed. There be others that eight of them go readily for a doe skin, but the general and current species of all the Indians in Carolina, and I believe, all over the continent, as far as the bay of Mexico, is that which we call Peak and Ronoak, but Peak more especially. This is that which at New York is called Wampum. Five cubits of this purchase a dressed doe skin, and seven or eight buy a dressed buck skin. To make this Peak it cost the English five or ten times as much as they could get for it, whereas it cost the Indians nothing, because they set no value upon their time, and therefore, have no competition to fear, or that others will take its manufacture out of their hands. It is made by grinding the pieces of shell upon stone, and is smaller than the small end of a tobacco pipe or large wheat straw. Four or five of these make an inch, and every one is to be drilled through and made as smooth as glass and so strung as beads are. A cubit of the Indian measure contains as much in length as will reach from the elbow to the end of the little finger. They never stand to question whether it be a tall man or a short one that measures it. If this Wampum—Peak be black or purple as some part



Specimens of Pipes found by J. M. M. Gernard, of Muncy, Pa.

of that shell is, then it is twice the value. The drilling is the most tedious and difficult part of the manufacture. It is done by sticking a nail in a cane or reed which they roll upon their thighs with their right hand, while with the left they apply the bit of shell to the iron point. For this money they will do anything.

"Their belts of wampum are of different dimensions both as to the length and breadth. White and black wampum are the kinds they use, the former denoting that which is good, as peace, friendship, good will, &c., the latter, the reverse; yet, occasionally, the black also is made use of on peace errands when the white cannot be procured; but previous to its being produced for such purpose, it must be daubed all over with chalk, white clay, or anything which changes the color from black to white. The pipe of peace being either made of a black or red stone, must also be whitened before it is produced and smoked out of on such occasions. Roads from one friendly nation to another are generally marked on the belt by one or two rows of white wampum interwoven in the black and running through the middle, and from end to end. It means that they are on good terms, and keep up a friendly intercourse with each other. A black belt with the mark of a hatchet made on it with red paint, is a war belt, which when sent to a nation, together with a twist or roll of tobacco is an invitation to join in a war. If the nation so invited smoke of this tobacco and say it smokes well, they have given their consent, and are from that moment allies. If, however, they decline smoking, all further persuasion would be of no effect; yet it once happened that war messengers endeavored to persuade and compel a nation to accept the belt by laying it on the shoulders or thigh of the chief, who, however, after shaking it off without touching it with his hands, afterwards, with a stick, threw it after them as if he threw a snake or a toad out of his way.

"They have proper names, not only for all towns, villages, mountains, valleys, rivers and streams, but for all remarkable spots, as, for instance, those infested with gnats, mosquitoes, snakes, &c. To strangers, white men, for instance, they will give names derived from some remarkable quality they have observed in them, or from some circumstance which strikes them. They called Wm. Penn 'Miquon,' which means feather, or quill. The Iroquois called him 'Onas,' which in their idiom, means the same thing. The first name given to the Europeans who landed in

Virginia, was 'Wapsid Lenape,' meaning white people. When, however, they began to slaughter the Indians, the name 'Mechan-schicau' (long knives), was given. In New England they at first endeavored to imitate the sound of the national name of the English, which they pronounced 'Yengees.' They also called them 'Chauquaquock' (men of knives), for having imported those instruments into the country which they gave in presents to the natives. They thought them better men than the Virginians, but when they were afterward cruelly treated by them, and their men shipped off to sea, the Mohicans of that country called them 'Tschachgoos,' and next when the people of the middle colonies began to murder them, and called on the Iroquois to insult them, and assist in depriving them of their lands, then they dropped that name, and called the whites, by way of derision, 'Schwan-nack,' which signifies salt beings, or bitter things, for in their language, the word Schawn is in general applied to things that have a salt, sharp, bitter or sour taste. The object of this name, as well as of that which the Mohicans gave to the Eastern people, was to express contempt, as well as hatred or dislike, and to hold up the white inhabitants of the country as hateful and despicable beings.

"I do not believe that there exists a people more attentive to paying common civilities to each other, but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners generally, escapes the notice of travellers. In more than a hundred instances, I have, with astonishment and delight, witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where, in the first instance, he is desired to seat himself with the words, 'sit down, my friend!' if he is a stranger, or no relation; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and a stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch is next handed round; it is the first treat as with us a glass of wine, or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visitors, will retire to a neighbor's house to inform the family of the visit with which her husband is honored, never grumbling on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it were what she had cooked for her own family,

considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.

"Marriages among the Indians are not contracted for life; it is understood on both sides that the parties are not to live together any longer than they shall be pleased with each other. The husband may put away his wife whenever he pleases, and the woman in like manner may abandon her husband. Therefore, the connection is not attended with any vows, promises or ceremonies of any kind. An Indian takes a wife, as it were, on trial, determined, however, in his own mind not to forsake her if she behaves well, and particularly if they have children. The woman, sensible of this, does on her part everything in her power to please her husband, particularly if he is a good hunter or trapper, capable of maintaining her by his skill and industry, and protecting her by his strength and courage. When a marriage takes place the duties and labors incumbent on each party are well known to both. It is understood that the husband is to build a house for them to dwell in, to find the necessary implements of husbandry, as axes, hoes, &c., to provide a canoe, and also dishes, bowls, and other necessary vessels for housekeeping. The woman generally has a kettle or two, and some other articles of kitchen furniture which she brings with her. The husband, as master of the family, considers himself bound to support it by his bodily exertions, as hunting, trapping, &c. The woman, as his help-mate, takes upon herself the labors of the field, and is far from considering them as more important than those to which her husband is subjected, being well satisfied that with his guns and traps he can maintain a family in any place where game is to be found; nor do they think it any hardship imposed upon them; for they themselves say, that while their field labor employs them at most six weeks of the year, that of the men continues the whole year round.

"The work of the women is not hard or difficult. They are both able and willing to do it, and always perform it with cheerfulness. Within doors their labor is trifling. There is seldom more than one pot or kettle to attend to. There is no scrubbing of the house, and but little to wash, and that not often. Their principal occupations are to cut and fetch in the fire wood, till the ground, sow and reap the grain, and pound the corn in mortars for their pottage, and to make bread, which they bake in the ashes. When going on a journey, or to hunting camps with their

husbands, they carry a pack on their backs which often appears heavier than it really is. It generally consists of a blanket, a dressed deer skin for moccasins, a few articles of kitchen furniture, as a kettle, bowl, or dish, with spoons and some bread, salt, corn, &c. The tilling of the ground at home, getting of the fire wood, and pounding of corn in mortars, is frequently done by female parties in the manner of huskings, &c., among the white people. In the beginning of March they go to the sugar camps, and while the women make the sugar, the men lookout for meat, generally fat bears, which are still in their winter quarters.

"The husband generally leaves the skins and pelfry which he has procured by hunting to the care of his wife, who sells or barter them away to the best advantage. An Indian loves to see his wife well dressed. While she is bartering the skins, he will seat himself at some distance to observe her choice, and how she and the trader agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is her choice, and he is never dissatisfied. The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, especially by the women. Some men at their leisure make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at the wife's disposal.

"The first step that Indian parents take towards the education of their children is to prepare them for future happiness by impressing upon their tender minds that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good, and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile, extensive country, well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence, and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above, corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment, all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this great Spirit looks down upon the Indians to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him and doing that which is pleasing in his sight. They are told that they were made the superiors of all other creatures, and are to have power over them. Great pains are taken to make this feeling take early root, and it becomes, in fact, their



A Trader's Camp.

ruling passion through life. No pains are spared to instill into them that by following the advice of the most admired and extolled hunter, trapper or warrior, they will, at a future day, acquire a degree of fame and reputation equal to that which he possesses. They are taught that if they respect the aged and infirm and are kind and obliging to them, they will be treated in the same manner when they become old. They are taught that good actions come from the Good Spirit, and that bad actions come from the bad spirit. The Good Spirit gives them every thing that is good, but the bad spirit can give them nothing for he has nothing, but envies the Good Spirit. The parent does not use compulsive means, but rather the art of persuasion. The child's pride is appealed to. A father needs only to say, 'I want this done, who will be the good child to do it?' and the word good acts like magic. The entire community second the efforts of the parent in training, and takes pride in the virtues of the young. Thus has been maintained for ages without convulsions and without civil discords this traditional government, of which the world, perhaps, does not offer another example; a government in which there are no positive laws, but only long established habits and customs, no code of jurisprudence, but the experience of former times, no magistrates, but advisers to whom the people nevertheless pay a willing and implicit obedience, in which age confers rank, wisdom gives power, and moral goodness secures a title to universal respect. All this seems to be effected by the simple means of an excellent mode of education, by which a strong attachment to ancient customs, respect for age, and the love of virtue are indelibly impressed upon the minds of youth, so that these impressions acquire strength as time pursues its course, and as they pass through successive generations.

"There is no nation in the world that pays greater respect to old age than the American Indians. From their infancy they are taught to be kind and attentive to aged persons, and never let them suffer for want of necessities or comforts. The parents spare no pains to impress upon the minds of their children the conviction that they would draw upon themselves the anger of the Great Spirit were they to neglect those whom in his goodness he had permitted to attain to advanced age. It is indeed a moving spectacle to see the tender and delicate attentions which on every occasion they lavish upon aged and decrepit persons. When going out a

hunting they will put them on a horse, or in a canoe, and take them into the woods to their hunting grounds, in order to revive their spirits by making them enjoy the sight of a sport in which they can no longer participate. They place them in particular situations, where they are sure the game they are in pursuit of will pass, taking proper measures at the same time to prevent its escape, so that their aged parents and friends may at least be in at the death. At home the old are as well treated and taken care of as if they were favorite children. On every occasion and in every situation through life, age takes the lead among the Indians. Even little boys, when going on parties of pleasure, were it only to catch butterflies, strictly adhere to this rule, and submit to the direction of the oldest of the party. If they are accosted on the way and asked where they are going, no one will presume to answer but their leader, the oldest.

"Indians who have not adopted the vices of the white people live to a good age—from seventy to ninety. Few arrive at the age of one hundred. I have known old men among them who had lost their memory, sight and teeth. I have also seen them at eighty in their second childhood, and not able to help themselves. The women in general live longer than the men."

The Calumet.

"No tribal organization, no solemn assembly, was complete without the calumet, and the ceremonies observed in its honor were impressive and conducted with the utmost care and regularity.

" 'This calumet,' says Father Hennepin, 'is the most mysterious thing in the world, among the savages of the Continent of Northern America, for it is used in all their important transactions. However, it is nothing else than a large tobacco pipe made of red, black or white marble. The head is finely polished, and the quill, which is commonly two feet and a half long, is made of a pretty strong reed, or cane, adorned with feathers of all colors interlaced with locks of women's hair. They tie to it two wings of the most curious birds they can find. They sheath that reed into the neck of birds they call Huars, which are as big as geese, and spotted with black and white; or else of a sort of ducks who make their nests upon trees, though water be their ordinary ele-

ment, and whose feathers are of many different colors. Such a pipe is a pass and safe conduct amongst all the allies of the nation that has given it, and in all embassies the Ambassadors carry that calumet as the symbol of peace, which is always respected; for the savages are generally persuaded that a great misfortune would befall them if they violated the public faith of the calumet. All their enterprises, declarations of war, or conclusions of peace, as well as all the rest of their ceremonies are sealed with this calumet. They fill that pipe with the best tobacco they have, and then present it to those with whom they have concluded any great affair, and smoke out of the same after them."

Dablon says: "It now remains for me to speak of the calumet, than which there is nothing among them more mysterious or more esteemed. Men do not pay to the crowns and sceptres of Kings the honor they pay to it; it seems to be the god of peace and war, the arbiter of life and death. Carry it about you, and show it, and you can march fearlessly amid enemies who even in the heat of battle lay down their arms when it is shown. Hence the Illinois gave me one to serve as my safeguard amid all the nations that I had to pass on my voyage. There is a calumet for peace and one for war, distinguished only by the color of the feathers with which they are adorned, red being the sign of war. They esteem it particularly because they regard it as the calumet of the sun; and, in fact, they present it to him to smoke when they wish to obtain calm, or rain, or fair weather. They scruple to bathe at the beginning of summer or to eat new fruits till they have danced to it.

"The Calumet dance, which is very famous among these Indians, is performed only for important matters; sometimes to strengthen a peace, or to assemble for some great war; at other times for public rejoicing; sometimes they do this honor to a nation which is invited to be present; sometimes they use it to receive some important personage, as if they wished to give him the entertainment of a ball or comedy. In winter the ceremony is performed in a cabin, in summer in the open fields. They select a place surrounded with trees so as to be sheltered beneath their foliage against the heat of the sun. In the middle of the space they spread out a large parti-colored mat of rushes; this serves as a carpet on which to place with honor the god of the one who gives the dance; for every one has his own god, or manitou, as they call

it, which is a snake, a bird, or something of the kind, which they have dreamed in their sleep, and in which they put all their trust for the success of their wars, fishing and hunting. Near this manitou, and at its right, they put the calumet in honor of which the feast is given, making around about it a kind of trophy, spreading there the arms used by the warriors of these tribes, namely, the war club, bow, hatchet, quiver and arrows. Things being thus arranged and the hour for dancing having arrived, those who are to sing take the most honorable place under the foliage. They are the men and women who have the finest voices and who perfectly accord. The spectators then come and take their places around under the branches; but each one on arriving, must salute the manitou, which he does by inhaling the smoke and then puffing it from his mouth upon it as if offering incense. Each one goes first and takes the calumet respectfully, and supporting it with both hands, makes it dance in cadence, suiting himself to the air of the song. He makes it go through various figures, sometimes showing it to the whole assembly by turning it from side to side. After this he who is to begin the dance appears in the midst of the assembly, and goes first; sometimes he presents it to the sun, as if he wished it to smoke; sometimes he inclines it to the earth, and at other times he spreads its wings as if for it to fly; at other times he approaches it to the mouths of the spectators for them to smoke, the whole in cadence. This is the first scene of the ballet.

“ The second consists in a combat to the sound of a kind of drum which succeeds the songs, or rather joins them, harmonizing quite well. The dancer beckons to some brave to come and take the arms on the mat, and challenges him to fight to the sound of the drums; the other approaches, takes his bow and arrow, and begins a duel against the dancer, who has no defence but the calumet. One attacks, the other defends; one strikes, the other parries; one flies, the other pursues; then he who fled faces and puts his enemy to flight. This is all done with measured steps and the regular sound of voices and drums.

“ The third scene consists of a speech delivered by the holder of the calumet, for, the combat being ended without bloodshed, he relates the battles he was in, the victories he has gained; he names the nations, the places, the captives he has taken and as a reward, he who presides at the dance, presents him with a beautiful beaver

robe, or something else, which he receives, and then he presents the calumet to another, who hands it to a third, and so to all the rest, till all having done their duty, the presiding chief presents the calumet itself to the nation invited to this ceremony, in token of the eternal peace which shall reign between the two tribes.

“The greatest care was bestowed upon the construction and ornamentation of the stems of the calumets and medicine pipes. No inconsiderable official dignity attached to the bearer of them, and their preservation was a matter of earnest solicitude.”

Fasts and Months.

“The great feast of the year among the Creeks was the Booske-tau. It was celebrated in July or August, and partook of the character of a sacred festival, during which universal thanks were offered to the Great Spirit for the incoming harvest. All fires were then extinguished, and were new lighted from the spark kindled by the High Priest. It was an occasion of general purification and of universal amnesty for all crimes committed during the year, murder excepted.

“Almost every month had its peculiar feast or festival. Among the Natchez the year began with our month of March, and was divided into thirteen moons. With each new moon a feast was celebrated receiving its name from the principal fruits gathered, or animals hunted. Thus the first moon was called the deer moon, and was observed with universal joy as the commencement of the year. This was followed by the festival of strawberries. The third moon ushered in the small corn, and was impatiently expected, because the crop of large corn seldom lasted from one harvest to the other. The watermelon feast occurred during the fourth moon, answering to our month of June. The fifth moon was that of the fishes. At this time grapes were gathered. The sixth moon was known as the mulberry moon. The maize or green corn moon succeeded, and was rendered remarkable by the most noted festival of the year. The turkey moon answered to our October, while the ninth and tenth moons were known respectively as the buffalo and bear moons. It was then these animals were hunted. The eleventh month was called the cold-meal moon; the twelfth, the chestnut moon, and the thirteenth, the walnut moon.” (The word walnut evidently refers to

nuts in general, and not the single variety which we call by that name.)

"Names of months by the Delawares: 1. January.—Squirrel month. Chipmunks come out of their holes. 2. February.—The frogs begin to croak. 3. March.—Shad fish month. 4. April.—Month for planting. 5. May.—Hoeing Indian corn. 6. June.—The deer become red. 7. July.—The time to hill corn. 8. August.—The corn is in the milk. 9. September.—Autumn. 10. October.—Harvest month. 11. November.—Time for hunt. 12. December.—Bucks cast their horns.

"Names by the Onondagas: January.—Month of longer days. February.—Winter leaves remaining now fall. March.—Winter leaves fall and fill the larger holes in the ground. April.—Warm good days, but not yet planting time. May.—Strawberries are ripe. June.—The sun goes for long days. July.—The sun goes for longer days. August.—The deer sheds its hair. September.—The deer is in its natural fur. October.—A little cold. November.—It is large cold. December.—The month of little long days. The Indian months did not begin with January but with October.

"The Indian considers himself as a being created by an all-powerful, wise and benevolent Manitto; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use by the Great Spirit, who gave him life. He, therefore, believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his Creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favors, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will. As beings who have control over all beasts and living creatures, they feel their importance; before they saw the white people, or men of a different color from their own, they considered themselves as God's favorites, and believed that if the Great Manitto could reside on earth, he would associate with them and be their chief. He also believes that he is highly favored by his maker, not only in having been created different in shape and in mental and bodily powers from other animals, but in being able to control and master them all, even those of an enormous size and of the most ferocious kinds; and therefore when he worships his Creator in his way, he does not omit in his supplications to pray that he may be endowed with courage to fight and conquer his enemies, among whom he includes all savage beasts; and when he has performed

some heroic act he will not forget to acknowledge it as a mark of divine favor, by making a sacrifice to the great and good Manitto, or by publicly announcing that his success was entirely owing to the courage given him by the all-powerful Spirit. Thus, habitual devotion to the great First Cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefit he confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterize the mind of the Indian.

"Not satisfied with paying this first of duties to the Lord of all, in the best manner they are able, the Indians also endeavor to fulfill the views which they suppose he had in creating the world. They think that he made the earth and all that it contains for the common good of mankind; when he stocked the country, that he gave them with plenty of game, it was not for the benefit of the few, but of all. Every thing was given in common to the sons of men. Whatever liveth on the land, whatsoever groweth out of the earth, and all that is in the rivers and waters flowing through the same was given jointly to all and everyone is entitled to his share. From this principle hospitality flows as from its source. With them it is not a virtue but a strict duty. Hence they are never in search of excuses to avoid giving, but freely supply their neighbors' wants from the stock prepared for their own use. They give and are hospitable to all without exception, and will always share with each other, and often with the stranger, even to their last morsel. They rather would lie down themselves on an empty stomach, than have it laid to their charge that they had neglected their duty by not satisfying the wants of the stranger, the sick, or the needy. The stranger has a claim to their hospitality, partly on account of his being at a distance from his family and friends, and partly because he has honored them by his visit, and ought to leave them with a good impression on his mind; the sick and the poor, because they have a right to be helped out of the common stock; for if the meat they have been served with was taken from the woods, it was common to all before the hunter took it; if corn or vegetables, it had grown out of the common ground, yet not by the power of man, but by that of the Great Spirit. Besides on the principle that all are descended from one parent, they look upon themselves as but one great family, who therefore ought, at all times, and on all occasions, to be serviceable and kind to each other, and by that means make themselves acceptable to the head of the universal family, the good Mannitto."

CHAPTER XVII.

SICKNESS AND DEATH.

IN THE opinion of Mr. Bartram the Southern Indians depended more upon regimen and abstinence than they did upon medicines in the treatment of diseases. The Cherokees used the *Lobelia syphilitica*, and endeavored to conceal from the whites all knowledge of its virtues and of the localities in which it grew. A decoction of the *Bignonia crucigera* and of the roots of the China briar and the sassafras was freely employed for the purification of the blood. The caustic and detergent properties of the roots of the white nettle (*Jatropha urens*) were utilized in cleansing old ulcers and consuming proud flesh, while the dissolvent and diuretic powers of the root of the *Convolvulus panduratus* were highly esteemed as a remedy in nephritic complaints. The emollient and discutient power of the swamp-lily (*Saururus cernuus*) and the virtues of the hypo or May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*) were both communicated to the Europeans by the Indians. The roots of the *Panax ginseng* and Norida or white root were held in the highest esteem among the Indians. The virtues of the former are well known, and the friendly carminative qualities of the latter were constantly invoked for relieving all disorders of the stomach and intestines. The patient chewed the root and swallowed the juice, or smoked it when dry, with tobacco. Even the smell of the root exerted a beneficial effect. The Lower Creeks, in whose country it did not grow, gladly exchanged two or three buckskins for a single root of it.

“The *Materia Medica* of the Indians consists of various foods and plants known to themselves, the properties of which they are not fond of disclosing to strangers. They make considerable use of the barks of trees, such as the white and black oak, the white walnut of which they make pills, the cherry, dogwood, maple, birch and others. Their method of compounding they keep a profound secret. When an emetic is to be administered, the water in which the potion is mixed must be drawn up a

stream, and if for a cathartic downwards. I saw an emetic once given to a man who had poisoned himself with the May apple root, it consisted of a piece of a raccoon skin burned with the hair on, and finely powdered, pounded dried beans and gunpowder, these three ingredients were mixed with water and poured down the patient's throat; this brought on a severe vomiting, the poisonous root was entirely discharged, and the man cured. In other complaints, particularly those that proceed from rheumatic affections, bleeding and sweating are always the first remedies applied. The sweat oven is the first thing that an Indian has recourse to when he feels the least indisposed; it is the place to which the wearied traveller, hunter or warrior looks for relief from the fatigues he has endured, the cold he has caught, or the restoration of his lost appetite.

"This oven is made of different sizes, so as to accommodate from two to six persons at a time, or according to the number of men in the village, so that they may all be successively served. It is generally built on a bank or slope, one-half within and the other above ground. It is well covered on the top with split plank and earth, and has a door in front where the ground is level, to go, or rather to creep, in. Here on the outside, stones, generally of about the size of a large turnip, are heated by one or more men appointed each day for that purpose. While the oven is heating, decoctions from roots or plants are prepared either by the person himself, who intends to sweat, or by one of the men of the village, who boils a large kettle full for the general use, so that when the public cryer goes his rounds calling out, 'Pimook!' (go to sweat) every one brings his small kettle, which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him for a medicine, promotes a profuse perspiration and quenches his thirst. As soon as a sufficient number have come to the oven a number of the hot stones are rolled into the middle of it, and the sweaters go in, seating themselves, or rather squatting round these stones, and there they remain until the sweat ceases to flow; then they come out throwing a blanket or two about them, that they may not catch cold. In the meanwhile fresh heated stones are thrown in for those who follow them. While they are in the oven, water is now and then poured on the hot stones to produce a steam which they say increases the heat and gives suppleness to their limbs and joints. In rheumatic complaints the steam is produced by a de-

coction of boiled roots, and the patient during the operation is well wrapped up in blankets to keep the cold air from him and promote perspiration at the same time. The sweat ovens are generally at some distance from the village where wood and water is always at hand. The best order is preserved. The women have their separate oven at a place in a different direction from that of the men, and subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once or sometimes twice a week, the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men.

"The theory was that all distempers were caused by the evil spirits; consequently none of their physicians attempted a cure until he had conversed with the Good Spirit, and ascertained whether his aid could be secured in the effort to exorcise the adverse demon. As soon as the doctor comes into the cabin the sick person is placed on a mat, or skin, stark naked, lying on his back, and all uncovered except some trifle about the loins. The king of the nation comes to attend the conjurer with a rattle made of a gourd with peas in it. This the king delivers into the conjurer's hand, while another brings a bowl of water and sets it down. Then the doctor begins, and utters a few words very softly; afterwards he smells of the patient's navel and belly, and sometimes scarifies him a little with a flint or an instrument made of rattlesnake's teeth for that purpose; then he sucks the patient and gets out a mouthful of blood and serum, but serum chiefly, which he spits in the bowl of water. Then he begins to mutter and talk apace, and at last to cut capers and clap his hands on his breech and sides till he gets into a sweat so that a stranger would think he was running mad; now and then sucking the patient, and so at times keeps sucking till he has got a great quantity of very ill-colored matter out of the belly, arms, breast, forehead, temples, neck and most parts, still continuing his grimaces and antic postures. At last you will see the doctor all over a drooping sweat and scarce able to utter a word, having quite spent himself; then he will cease for a while, and so begin again, till he comes to that same pitch of raving and seeming madness as before. At last he ceases, and tells whether the patient will live or die, then one who waits at this ceremony takes the blood away and buries it in the ground in a place unknown to any one but he that inters it. When the juggler has succeeded in convincing his patient that his dis-

order is such that no common physician has it in his power to relieve, he will next endeavor to convince him of the necessity of making him very strong, which means, giving him a large fee, which he will say is justly due to a man who like himself is able to perform such difficult things. If the patient who applies is rich, the doctor will never fail whatever the complaint may be, to ascribe it to the powers of witchcraft, and recommend himself as the only person capable of giving relief in such a hard and complicated case. The poor patient, therefore, if he will have the benefit of the great man's advice and assistance, must immediately give him his honorarium, which is commonly either a fine horse, a good rifle gun, a considerable quantity of wampum, or goods to a handsome amount. When this fee is well secured, and not before, the doctor prepares for the hard task that he has undertaken, with as much apparent labor as if he were going to remove a mountain. He casts his eyes all around him to attract notice, puts on grave and important looks, appears wrapped in thought and meditation, and enjoys for awhile the admiration of the spectators. At last he begins his operation. Attired in a frightful dress he approaches his patient with a variety of contortions and jestures, and performs by his side and over him all the antic tricks that his imagination can suggest. He breathes on him, blows in his mouth, and squirts some medicine which he has prepared, in his face, mouth and nose; he rattles his gourd filled with dried beans or pebbles, pulls out and handles about a variety of sticks and bundles in which he appears to be seeking for the proper remedy, all which is accompanied with the most horrid gesticulations, by which he endeavors to frighten the spirit or the disorder away, he continues in this manner until he is out of breath and exhausted, when he retires to await the issue. The juggler's dress consisted of an entire garment or outside covering made of one or more bear skins as black as jet, so well fitted and sewed together that the man was not in any place to be perceived. The whole head of the bear, including the mouth, nose, teeth, ears, &c., appeared the same as when the animal was living; so did the legs with long claws; to this were added a huge pair of horns on the head, and behind a large bushy tail moving as he walked, as though it were on springs; but for these accompaniments the man walking on all fours might have been taken for a bear of extraordinary size. Underneath where his hands were, holes had been

cut, though not visible to the eye, being covered with the long hair, through which he held and managed his implements, and he saw through two holes set with glass.

"It is well known that the Indians pay great respect to the memory of the dead and commit their remains to the ground with becoming ceremonies. In the death of a principal chief, the village resounds from one end to the other with the loud lamentations of the women, among whom those who sit by the corpse distinguish themselves by the shrillness of their cries, and the frantic expression of their sorrow; the scene of mourning over the dead body continues by day and by night until it is interred, the mourners being relieved from time to time by other women. I was present in the year 1762, at the funeral of a woman of the highest rank and respectability, the wife of the valiant Delaware chief Shingask; at the moment that she died her death was announced through the village by women specially appointed for that purpose, who went through the streets crying, 'She is no more! She is no more!' The place on a sudden exhibited a scene of universal mourning; cries and lamentations were heard from all quarters; it was truly the expression of the general feeling for a general loss.

"The day passed in this manner amidst sorrow and desolation. The next morning, between nine and ten o'clock, we were desired to assist at the funeral. We found her corpse lying in a coffin, dressed and painted in the most superb Indian style. Her garments, all new, were set off with rows of silver broaches, one row joining the other. Over the sleeves of her new ruffled shirt were broad silver arm spangles from her shoulder down to her wrist, on which were bands forming a kind of mittens worked together of wampum, in the same manner as the belts which they use when they deliver speeches; her long plaited hair was confined by broad bands of silver, one band joining the other, yet not of the same size, but tapering from the head downwards and running at the lower end to a point; on the neck were hanging five broad belts of wampum tied together at the ends, each of a size smaller than the other, the largest of which reached below her breast, the next largest reaching a few inches of it, and so on, the uppermost one being the smallest. Her scarlet leggings were decorated with different colored ribbons sewed on the outer edges, being finished off with small beads, also of various colors. Her moccasins were

ornamented with the most striking figures, wrought on the leather with colored porcupine quills, on the borders of which round the ankles were fastened a number of small round silver bells of about the size of a musket ball. All these things together, with the vermillion paint judiciously laid on so as to set her off in the highest style, decorated her person in such a manner that perhaps nothing of the kind could exceed it; the spectators having retired, a number of articles were brought out of the house and placed in the coffin, wherever there was room to put them on, among which were a new shirt, a dressed deer skin for shoes, a pair of scissors, needles, thread, pewter basin and spoon, pint cup and other similar things, with a number of trinkets and other small articles, which she was fond of while living; the lid was then fastened on the coffin with three straps, and three handsome round poles, five or six feet long, were laid across it near each other, and one in the middle, which were also fastened with straps cut up from a tanned elk hide; and a small bag of vermillion paint, with some flannel to lay it on, was then thrust into the coffin through the hole cut out of the head of it; this hole the Indians say is for the spirit of the deceased to go in and out at pleasure until it has found the place of its future residence.

"Everything being ready, the bearers of the corpse took their places. Several women from a house about thirty yards off, now started off carrying large kettles, dishes, spoons and elk meat in baskets, for the burial place. The signal being given for us to move with the body, the women who acted as chief mourners made the air resound with their shrill cries. The order of procession was as follows:

"First, a leader, or guide, from the spot where we were to the place of interment. Next followed the corpse, and close to it the husband of the deceased. He was followed by the principal war chiefs and counsellors of the nation, after whom came men of all ranks and descriptions. Then followed the women and the children, and lastly two stout men carrying loads of goods upon their backs. The chief mourners on the woman's side not having joined in the ranks, took their own course to the right at the distance of about fifteen or twenty yards from us, but always opposite the corpse. Arrived at the grave the lid of the coffin was again taken off, and the body exposed to view. The whole train formed themselves into a kind of semilunar circle on the south

side of the grave, and seated themselves on the ground, while the disconsolate husband retired by himself to a spot at some distance, where he was seen weeping with his head bowed to the ground. The female mourners seated themselves promiscuously near to each other, among some low bushes that were at a distance of from twelve to fifteen yards from the grave.

"In this situation we remained for more than two hours; not a sound was heard from any quarter, though the numbers that attended were very great; nor did any person move from his seat to view the body, which had been lightly covered over with a clean white sheet. All appeared to be in profound reflection and solemn mourning. Sighs and sobs were now and then heard from the female mourners, so uttered as not to disturb the assembly; it seemed rather as if intended to keep the feeling of sorrow alive in a manner becoming the occasion. At length, about one o'clock, six men stepped forward to put the lid upon the coffin and let down the body into the grave, when suddenly three of the women mourners rushed from their seats, and forcing themselves between these men and the corpse, loudly called out to the deceased to arise and go with them and not to forsake them. They even took hold of her arms and legs, at first it seemed as if they were caressing her, afterwards they appeared to pull with more violence, as if they intended to run away with the body, crying out all the while, 'Arise! Arise! Come with us! Don't leave us! Don't abandon us!' At last they retired plucking at their garments, pulling their hair, and uttering loud cries and lamentations with all the appearance of frantic despair. After they were seated on the ground, they continued in the same manner crying and sobbing, and pulling at the grass and shrubs, as if their minds were totally bewildered and they did not know what they were doing. Then the men let down the coffin into the earth and laid two thin poles of about four inches diameter from which the bark had been taken off, lengthwise and close together over the grave, after which they retired. Then the husband advanced with a very slow pace, and when he came to the grave walked over it on these poles and proceeded forward in the same manner into an extensive adjoining prairie which commenced at this spot. When the chief had advanced so far that he could not hear what was doing at the grave, a painted post on which were drawn various figures emblematic of the deceased's situation in life, and of her having been the wife



William Penn making a Treaty with the Indians.

of a valiant warrior, was brought by two men and delivered to a third, a man of note, who placed it in such a manner that it rested on the coffin at the head of the grave, and took great care that a certain part of the drawings should be exposed to the east or rising of the sun; then, while he held the post erect and properly situated, some women filled up the grave with hoes, and having placed dry leaves and pieces of bark over it so that none of the fresh ground was visible, they retired, and some men with timbers, fitted beforehand for the purpose, enclosed the grave about breast high so as to secure it from the approach of the wild beasts. Then every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over the articles of merchandise that had been brought were distributed among all present; no one from the oldest to the youngest was exempted. In about six hours the procession ended, and the people retired to their homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

“The Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial place to a place of deposit in the country they dwell in. In earlier times they were known to go from Wyoming to Chemenk to fetch the bones of their dead from the Eastern Shore of Maryland, even when the bodies were in a putrid state, so that they had to take off the flesh and scrape the bones clean, before they could carry them along. As they passed through Bethlehem, between 1750 and 1760, loaded with such bones, they being still fresh, caused a disagreeable stench.

“The description of the Indians by William Penn will give as correct a view of them as we can obtain. He says: ‘They are generally tall, straight in their persons, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty clin. Of complexion black, but by design as the gypsies of England. They grease themselves with bear’s fat clarified, and using no defence against sun and weather, their skins must be swarthy. Their eye is livid and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lips and flat nose so frequent with the East

Indians and the blacks, are not common to them, for I have seen as comely European like faces among them of both sexes as on your side of the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman. Their language is lofty yet narrow; but like the Hebrew, in signification full. Like shorthand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness in accent and emphasis than theirs. Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they are washed in water and while very young and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the river to harden and embolden them. Having wrapped them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board, a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will walk very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small clout about their waist until they are big. If boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. There they hunt, and having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they marry. Else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and bear burdens, and they do well to use them to that while young, which they must do when they are old. For the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them. When the young women are fit for marriage they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if they are women, is about thirteen or fourteen, if men seventeen or eighteen. They are rarely older.

“Their houses are mats, or barks of trees set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire with the man-

tle of duffils they wear in the day wrapped about them, and a few boughs stuck round them. Their diet is maize or Indian corn, divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call homonie. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment, and the woods and rivers owe their larder. If an European comes to see them or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us they salute us with an 'Itah!' which is as much as to say, 'Good be to you!' and set them down, which is mostly on the ground close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all that passes. If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and, be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased; else they go away sullen, but say nothing. They are great concealers of their own resentment, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. In liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass through twenty hands before it sticks. Light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor never want much; wealth circulateth like the blood; all parts partake, and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some Kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land; the pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighboring Kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every King then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity that is admirable. Then that King subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects; and be it on such occasions or festivals, or at their common meals, the Kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want for little, and the reason is a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains.

“Since the Europeans came into these parts they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially, and for it they exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors they are restless till they have enough to sleep, that is their cry, ‘some more and I will go to sleep;’ but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world. In sickness, impatient to be cured, and for it give anything, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink a decoction of some roots in spring water; and if they eat any flesh it must be of the female of any creature. If they die they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them as a token of love. Their mourning is blackening of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead, for, lest they should be lost by time and fall to common use they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

“These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion. Yet they believe in a God and immortality without the help of metaphysics, for they say, ‘There is a great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither where they shall live again.’ Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvelous fervency and labor of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and dancing on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and different, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of joy. In the fall when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great feasts already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form in the leaves of the stem and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in

their money; it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of the fish; the black is with them as gold, the white silver; they call it wampum.

“Their government is by kings, whom they call Sachems, and these by succession, but always on the mother’s side. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious. Every king hath his council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of the nation, which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land or traffic, without advising with them, and which is more, with the young men, too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties of land and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is this: The King sits in the middle of a half moon and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me; he stood up, came to me, and in the name of his King saluted me; then took me by the hand and told me he was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he but the King that spoke; because what he should say was the King’s mind. He first prayed me to excuse them that they had not complied with me last time; he feared there might be some fault with the interpreter being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take much time in council before they resolve, and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced the matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of and the price, which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles, not buying now two. During the time that this man spoke not a man of them was seen to whisper or smile; the old were grave, the young reverent in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help of tradition, and he will deserve the name of wise that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand.’ ”

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PIONEERS.

IN OUR study of these olden times we have seen the coming to our shores of the needy immigrants, who, released from the confinement of weary ship life, fled into the wilderness, and were lost to view never again to appear as they were on the day of their landing before the caves of the infant Philadelphia.

We have also made ourselves acquainted with the native inhabitants of these endless stretches of forest and mountains, both as they were before the coming of the white strangers, and after they became disheartened and poor through the deceit so relentlessly practised upon them by these, at first, welcome strangers.

Of one class of immigrants we have merely caught a glimpse, but they will now receive our attention, for they are the true pioneers of our history. They were the people who took a peculiar delight in felling trees, or Indians, if they came in their way, and when the woods began to disappear beneath their steady strokes, they packed up their few belongings and plunged deeper into the mysterious wilderness, to seek a still wilder life.

These men are interesting characters. They laid the foundations for the prosperity that we enjoy. With all their faults we can honor them for what they were. In them we see the native strength of character which has become refined and gentle as we see it in their posterity, our neighbors. It has become refined under the favoring influences of more gentle surroundings.

We are not left to guessing at the experiences of these fathers. Their surroundings are clearly portrayed in such works as Winterbotham's three volumned history, published in the last century; in Dodridge's notes, written from personal observation, and in the fireside tales and recorded conversations of many aged men who have lived their experiences over again, in fancy, as to grandchildren and great-grandchildren they have told of the days when they were boys.

We will begin by quoting from "The Winning of the West," by Roosevelt :

"The backwoodsmen of America were by birth and parentage of mixed race. But the dominant strain in their blood was that of the Presbyterian Irish—the Scotch Irish as they were often called. Full credit has been awarded the Roundhead and the Cavalier for their leadership in our history ; nor have we been altogether blind to the deeds of the Hollander and the Huguenot ; but it is doubtful if we have wholly realized the importance of the part played by that stern and virile people, the Irish, whose preachers taught the creed of Knox and Calvin. These Irish representatives of the Covenanters were in the West almost what the Puritans were in the northeast, and more than the Cavaliers were in the South. Mingled with the descendants of many other races, they nevertheless formed the kernel of the distinctively and intensely American stock, who were the pioneers of our people in their march westward, the vanguard of the army of fighting settlers, who with axe and rifle won their way from the Alleghenies to the Rio Grande and the Pacific. The Presbyterian Irish were themselves already a mixed people. Though mainly descended from Scotch ancestors—who came originally from both lowlands and highlands from among both the Scotch-Saxon and the Scotch-Celts—many of them were of English, a few of French Huguenot, and quite a number of true old Milesian Irish extraction. They were the Protestants of the Protestants ; they detested and despised the Catholics, whom their ancestors had conquered, and regarded the Episcopalians, by whom they themselves had been oppressed, with a more sullen but scarcely less intense hatred. They were a truculent and obstinate people, and gloried in the warlike renown of their forefathers, the men who had followed Cromwell, and who had shared in the defence of Derry, and in the victories of the Boyne and Aughrim. They did not begin to come to America in any numbers till after the opening of the eighteenth century ; by 1730 they were fairly swarming across the ocean, for the most part in two streams, the larger going to the port of Philadelphia, the smaller to the port of Charleston. Pushing through the long settled lowlands of the seacoast they at once made their abode at the foot of the mountains and became the outposts of civilization. From Pennsylvania, whither the great majority had come, they drifted south along the foot hills

and down the long valleys till they met their brethren from Charleston, who had pushed up into the Carolina back country. In this land of hills, covered by unbroken forest, they took root and flourished, stretching in broad belt from north to south a shield of sinewy men thrust in between the people of the seacoast and the red warriors of the wilderness. All through this region they were alike; they had as little kinship with the Cavalier as with the Quaker; the west was won by those who have been rightly called the Roundheads of the south, the same men who, before any others, declared for American independence.

“The two facts of most importance to remember, in dealing with our pioneer history, are, first, that the western portions of Virginia and the Carolinas were peopled by an entirely different stock from that which had long existed in the tide-water regions of those colonies; and, secondly, that except for those in the Carolinas, who came from Charleston, the immigrants of this stock were mostly from the north, from their great breeding ground and nursery in western Pennsylvania. That the Irish Presbyterians were a bold and hardy race is proved by their at once pushing past the settled regions and plunging into the wilderness as the leaders of the white advance. They were the first and last set of immigrants to do this; all others have merely followed in the wake of their predecessors. But, indeed, they were fitted to be Americans from the very start; they were kinsfolk of the covenanters; they deemed it a religious duty to interpret their own Bible, and held for a divine right the election of their own clergy. For generations their whole ecclesiastic and scholastic systems had been fundamentally democratic. In the hard life of the frontier they lost much of their religion and they had but scant opportunity to give their children the schooling in which they believed, but what few meeting houses and school houses there were on the border were theirs. The numerous families of colonial English who came among them adopted their religion, if they adopted any. The creed of the backwoodsman, who had a creed at all, was Presbyterianism; for the Episcopacy of the tide-water land obtained no foothold in the mountains, and the Methodists and the Baptists had but just begun to appear in the west when the Revolution broke out.

“These Presbyterian Irish were, however, far from being the only settlers on the border, although more than any others they

impressed the stamp of their peculiar character on the pioneer civilization of the west and the southwest. Great numbers of immigrants of English descent came among them from the settled districts on the east; and though these later arrivals soon became indistinguishable from the people among whom they settled, yet they certainly sometimes added a tone of their own to backwoods society, giving it here and there a slight dash of what we are accustomed to consider the distinctively southern or cavalier spirit. There was, likewise, a large German admixture, not only from the Germans of Pennsylvania, but also from those of the Carolinas. A good many Huguenots, likewise came, and a few Hollanders, and even Swedes, from the banks of the Delaware, or, perhaps, from farther off still.

"A single generation passed under the hard conditions of life in the wilderness was enough to weld together into one people the representatives of these numerous and widely different races, and the children of the next generation became indistinguishable from one another. Long before the first Continental Congress assembled, the backwoodsmen, whatever their blood, had become Americans, one in speech, thought and character, clutching firmly the land in which their fathers and grandfathers had lived before them. They had lost all remembrance of Europe, and all sympathy with things European; they had become as emphatically products native to the soil as were the tough and supple hickories out of which they fashioned the handles of their long light axes. Their grim, harsh, narrow lives were yet strangely fascinating, and full of adventurous toil and danger; none but natures as strong, as freedom loving, and as full of bold defiance as theirs, could have endured existence on the terms which these men found pleasureable. Their iron surroundings made a mould which turned out all alike in the same shape. They resembled one another, and they differed from the rest of the world—even the world of America, and infinitely more the world of Europe—in dress, in customs, and in mode of life.

"When their lands abutted on the more settled districts to the eastward, the population was of course thickest and their peculiarities least. Here and there at such points they built small backwoods burgs or towns, rude, straggling, unkempt villages, with a store or two, a tavern—sometimes good, often a scandalous hogsty, where travellers were devoured by fleas, and every one ate

and slept in one room—a small log house, and a little church presided over by a hard-featured Presbyterian preacher, gloomy, earnest and zealous, probably bigoted and narrow-minded, but, nevertheless, a great power for good in the community.

“However, the backwoodsmen as a class, neither built towns nor loved to dwell therein. They were to be seen at their best in the vast interminable forests that formed their chosen home. They won and kept their lands by force and ever lived either at war or in dread of war. Hence they settled always in groups of several families, each all banded together for mutual protection. Their red foes were strong and terrible, cunning in council, dreadful in battle, merciless beyond belief in victory. The men of the border did not overcome and dispossess cowards and weaklings; they marched forth to spoil the stout-hearted, and to take for prey the possession of the men of might. Every acre, every rood of ground which they claimed, had to be cleared by the axe and held by the rifle. Not only was the chopping down of the forest the first preliminary to cultivation, but it was also the surest means of subduing the Indians, to whom the unending stretches of choked woodland were an impenetrable cover behind which to hide unseen, a shield in making assaults, and a strong tower of defence in repelling counter-attacks. In the conquest of the west the backwoods axe, shapely, well poised, with long haft and light head was a servant hardly second to the rifle; the two were the national weapons of the American backwoodsman, and in their use he has never been excelled.

“When a group of families moved out into the wilderness they built themselves a station or stockade fort; square palisades of upright logs, loop-holed with strong block houses as bastions at the corners. One side, at least, was generally formed by the backs of the cabins themselves, all standing in a row; and there was a great door or gate that could be strongly barred in case of need. Often no iron whatever was employed in any of the buildings. The square inside contained the provision sheds, and frequently a strong central blockhouse as well. These forts of course could not stand against cannon, and they were always in danger when attacked with fire; but save for this risk of burning they were very effectual defences against men without artillery, and were rarely taken, whether by whites or Indians, except by surprise



The Settler's Lonely Home.

Few other buildings have played so important a part in our history as the rough stockade fort of the backwoods.

"The families only lived in the fort when there was war with the Indians, and even then not in the winter. At other times they all separated out to their own farms, universally called clearings, as they were always made by first cutting off the timber. The stumps were left to dot the field of grain and Indian corn. The corn was in especial the stand-by and invariable resource of the western settlers; it was the crop on which he relied to feed his family, and when hunting or on a war trail the parched grains were carried in his leather wallet to serve often as his only food. But he planted orchards and raised melons, potatoes, and many other fruits and vegetables as well; and he had usually a horse or two, cows, and perhaps hogs and sheep, if the wolves and bears did not interfere. If he was poor his cabin was made of unhewn logs, and held but a single room; if well to do, the logs were neatly hewed, and besides the large living and eating room with its huge stone fire place, there was also a small bed room and a kitchen, while a ladder led to the loft above in which the boys slept. The floor was made of puncheons, great slabs of wood hewed carefully out, and the roof of clapboard. Pegs of wood were thrust into the sides of the house to serve instead of a wardrobe; and buck antlehs thrust into joists held the ever ready rifles. The table was a great clapboard set on four wooden legs; there were three legged stools, and in the better sort of houses old fashioned rocking chairs. The couch or bed was warmly covered with blankets, bear skins and deer hides.

"These clearings lay far apart from one another in the wilderness. Up to the door sills of the log huts stretched the solemn and mysterious forest. There were no openings to break its continuity; nothing but endless leagues on leagues of shadowy wolf-haunted woodland. The great trees towered aloft till their separate heads were lost in the mass of foliage above, and the rank underbrush choked the spaces between the trunks. On the higher peaks and ridge crests of the mountains there were straggling birches and pines, hemlock and balsam firs; elsewhere, oaks, chestnuts, hickories, maples, beeches, walnuts, and great tulip trees grew side by side with many other kinds. The sunlight could not penetrate the roofed archway of murmuring leaves; through the gray aisles of the forest men walked al-

ways in a kind of mid-day gloaming. Those who had lived in the open plains felt when they came to the backwoods as if their heads were hooded. Save on the border of a lake, from a cliff top, or on a bald knob—that is, a bare hill shoulder—they could not anywhere look out for any distance.

“All the land was shrouded in one vast forest. It covered the mountains from crest to river bed, filled the plains, and stretched in sombre and melancholy wastes towards the Mississippi. All that it contained, all that lay hid within it and beyond it, none could tell; men only knew that their boldest hunters, however deeply they had penetrated, had not yet gone through it, that it was the home of the game they followed, and the wild beasts that preyed on their flocks, and that deep in its tangled depths lurked their red foes, hawk-eyed and wolf-hearted. Backwoods society was simple and the duties and rights of each member of the family were plain and clear. The man was the armed protector and provider, the bread winner; the woman was the house wife and child bearer. They married young, and their families were large, for they were strong and healthy and their success in life depended on their own stout arms and willing hearts. There was everywhere great equality of conditions. Land was plenty and all else was scarce. So courage, thrift and industry were sure of their reward. All had small farms, with the few stock necessary to cultivate them; the farms being generally placed in the hollows, the division lines between them, if they were close together, being the tops of the ridges and the water courses, especially the former. The buildings of each farm were usually at its lowest point, as if in the centre of an amphitheatre. Each was on an average of about four hundred acres, but sometimes more. Tracts of low, swampy grounds, possibly some miles from the cabin, were cleared for meadows, the fodder being stacked and hauled home for winter.

“Each backwoodsman was not only a small farmer but also a hunter; for his wife and children depended for their meat upon the venison and bear’s flesh procured by his rifle. The people were restless and always on the move. After being a little while in a place, some of the men would settle down permanently, while others would again drift off, farming and hunting alternately to support their families. The backwoodman’s dress was in great part borrowed from his Indian foes. He wore a fur cap, or felt hat,

moccasins, and either loose thin trousers, or else simply leggings of buckskin or elkhide, and the Indian breech clout. He was always clad in the hunting shirt, (fringed) of homespun or buckskin, the most picturesque and distinctively national dress ever worn in America. It was a loose smock or tunic, reaching nearly to the knees, and held in at the waist by a broad belt from which hung the tomahawk and scalping knife. His weapon was the long small bore flint lock rifle, clumsy and ill-balanced, but exceedingly accurate. It was very heavy, and when upright reached to the chin of a tall man, for the barrel of thick soft iron was four feet in length, while the stock was short and the butt scooped out. Sometimes it was plain, sometimes ornamented. It was generally bored out—or, as the expression then was, sawed out—to carry a ball of seventy, more rarely of thirty or forty to the pound, and was usually of backwoods manufacture. The marksman almost always fired from a rest, and rarely at a very long range, and the shooting was marvellously accurate.

“In the backwoods there was very little money; barter was the common form of exchange and peltries were often used as a circulating medium, a beaver, otter, fisher, dressed buckskin or large bear skin, being reckoned as equal to two foxes or wildcats, four coon or eight minks. A young man inherited nothing from his father but his strong frame and eager heart; but before him lay a whole continent wherein to pitch his farm, and he felt ready to marry as soon as he became of age, even though he had nothing but his clothes, his horses, his axe and his rifle. If a girl was well off, and had been careful and industrious, she might herself bring a dowry of a cow and a calf, a brood mare, a bed well stocked with blankets, and a chest containing her clothes, the latter not very elaborate, for a woman’s dress consisted of a hat or poke bonnet, a bed gown, perhaps a jacket, and a linsey petticoat, while her feet were thrust into coarse shoepacks or moccasins. Fine clothes were rare; a suit of such cost more than two hundred acres of good land.

“The first lesson the backwoodsman learnt was the necessity of self help; the next, that such a community could only thrive if all joined in helping one another. Log-rollings, house-raisings, house-warmings, corn-shuckings, quiltings, and the like were occasions when all the neighbors came together to do what the family itself could hardly accomplish alone. Every such meeting

was the occasion of a frolic and a dance for the young people, whiskey and rum being plentiful, and the host exerting his utmost power to spread the table with backwoods delicacies, bear meat and venison, vegetables from the truck patch, where squashes, melons, beans and the like were grown, wild fruits, bowls of milk and apple pies. which were the acknowledged standard of luxury. At the better houses there was metheglin or small beer, cider, cheese and biscuits. Tea was so little known that many of the backwoods people were not aware it was a beverage, and at first attempted to eat the leaves with salt and butter.

"The young men prided themselves on their bodily strength, and were always eager to contend against one another in athletic games, such as wrestling, racing, jumping and lifting flour barrels; and they also sought distinction in vieing with one another at their work. Sometimes they strove against one another singly, sometimes they divided into parties, each bending all its energies to be first in shucking a given heap of corn, or cutting with sickles an allotted patch of wheat. Among the men the bravos or bullies often were dandies also in the backwoods fashion, wearing their hair long and delighting in the rude finery of hunting shirts embroidered with porcupine quills; they were loud, boastful and profane, given to coarsely bantering one another. Brutally savage fights were frequent; the combatants, who were surrounded by rings of interested spectators, striking, kicking, biting, and gouging. The fall of one of them did not stop the fight, for the man who was down was maltreated without mercy until he called enough. The victor always bragged savagely of his prowess, often leaping on a stump, crowing and flapping his arms. Defeat was not necessarily considered disgrace, a man often fighting when he was certain to be beaten, while the onlookers neither hooted nor pelted the conquered. Fights were specially frequent when the backwoodsmen went into the little frontier town to see horse races or fairs.

"A wedding was always a time of festival. The groom and his friends, all armed, rode to the house of the bride's father, plenty of whisky being drunk, and the men racing recklessly along the narrow bridle paths, for there were few roads or wheeled vehicles in the backwoods. At the bride's house the ceremony was performed, and then a huge dinner was eaten, after which the fiddling and dancing began, and were continued all the afternoon,

and most of the night as well. A party of girls stole off the bride and put her to bed in the loft above, and a party of young men performed the like service for the groom. The fun was hearty and coarse, and the toasts always included one to the young couple, with the wish that they might have many big children, for as long as they could remember, the backwoodsman had lived at war, while looking ahead they saw no chance of its ever stopping, and so each son was regarded as a future warrior, a help to the whole community. The neighbors all joined again in chopping and rolling the logs for the young couple's future house, then in raising the house itself, and finally in feasting and dancing at the house warming.

"Funerals were simple, the dead body being carried to the grave in a coffin slung on poles and carried by four men.

"Each family did everything that could be done for itself. The father and sons worked with axe, hoe and sickle. Almost every house contained a loom, and almost every woman was a weaver. Linsey woolsey made from flax grown near the cabin and from wool from the backs of the few sheep was the warmest and most substantial cloth; and when the flax crop failed and the flocks were destroyed by wolves the children had but scanty covering to hide their nakedness. The man tanned the buckskin, the woman was tailor and shoemaker, and made the deer skin sifters to be used instead of bolting cloths. There were a few pewter spoons in use; but the table furniture consisted mainly of hand-made trenchers, platters, noggins and bowls. The cradle was of peeled hickory bark. Ploughshares had to be imported, but harrows and sleds were made without difficulty, and the cooper work was well done. Chaff beds were thrown on the floor of the loft, if the house owner was well off. Each cabin had a hand mill and a hominy block; the last was borrowed from the Indians and was only a large block of wood with a hole burned in the top as a mortar where the pestle was worked. If there were any sugar maples accessible they were tapped every year.

"In order to get salt and iron each family collected during the year all the furs possible, these being valuable, and carried on pack horses, the sole means of transport. Then, after seeding time in the Fall, the people of a neighborhood ordinarily joined in sending down a train of peltry-laden pack horses to some

large sea coast or tidal river trading town, where their burdens were bartered for the needed iron and salt. The unshod horses all had bells hung round their necks; the clappers were stopped during the day, but when the train was halted for the night and the horses were hobbled and turned loose, the bells were once more unstopped. Several men accompanied each little caravan, and sometimes they drove with them steers and hogs to sell on the sea coast. A bushel of alum salt was worth a good cow and a calf, and as each of the poorly fed undersized pack animals could carry but two bushels, the mountaineers prized it greatly, and instead of salting or pickling their venison they jerked it by drying it in the sun or smoking it over a fire.

"The life of the backwoodsman was one long struggle. The forest had to be felled, droughts, deep snows, freshets, cloud bursts, forest fires, and all the other dangers of a wilderness life faced. Swarms of deer-flies, mosquitoes and midges rendered life a torment in the weeks of hot weather. Rattlesnakes and copperheads were very plentiful and, the former especially, constant sources of danger and death. Wolves and bears were incessant and the inveterate foes of the live stock, and the cougar, or panther, occasionally attacked man as well. More terrible still, the wolves sometimes went mad, and the men who then encountered them were almost certain to be bitten and to die of the hydrophobia.

"Every true backwoodsman was a hunter. Wild turkeys were plentiful. The pigeons at times filled the woods with clouds that hid the sun, and broke down the branches on their roosting grounds as if a whirlwind had passed. The black and grey squirrels swarmed, devastating the corn fields and at times gathering in immense companies and migrating across mountain and river. The hunter's ordinary game was the deer, and after that the bear; the elk was already growing uncommon. No form of labor is harder than the chase, and none is so fascinating nor so excellent as a training school for war. The successful still hunter of necessity possessed skill in hiding and in creeping noiselessly upon the wary quarry, as well as in imitating the notes and calls of the different beasts and birds; skill in the use of the rifle and in throwing the tomahawk he already had; and he perforce acquired keenness of eye, thorough acquaintance with wood craft, and the power of standing the severest strains of fatigue, hard-



Savage Wolves at the Cabin Door.

ship and exposure. He lived out in the woods for many months with no food but meat and no shelter whatever, unless he made a lean-to of brush or crawled into a hollow sycamore.

"Such training stood the frontier folk in good stead when they were pitted against the Indians; without it they could not even have held their own, and the white advance would have been absolutely checked. Our frontiers were pushed westward by the warlike skill and the personal prowess of the individual settlers. For one square mile the regular armies added to our domain, the settlers added ten—a hundred would probably be nearer the truth. A race of peaceful unwarlike farmers would have been helpless before such foes as the red Indians, and no auxiliary military force could have protected them or enabled them to have moved westward. Colonists fresh from the old world, no matter how thrifty, steady-going and industrious, could not hold their own on the frontier; they had to settle where they were protected from the Indians by a living barrier of bold and self-reliant American borderers. The West would never have been settled save for the fierce courage and the eager desire to brave danger so characteristic of the stalwart backwoodsman. These armed hunters, woodchoppers and farmers were their own soldiers. They built and manned their own forts; they did their own fighting under their own commanders. There were no regiments of regular troops along the frontier. In the advent of an Indian inroad each borderer had to defend himself until there was time for them all to gather together to repel or to avenge it. Every man was accustomed to the use of arms from his childhood; when a boy was twelve years old he was given a rifle and made a foot soldier, with a loophole where he was to stand if the station was attacked. The war was never ending, for even the times of so-called peace were broken by forays and murders; a man might grow from babyhood to middle age on the border and yet never remember a year in which some one of his neighbors did not fall a victim to the Indians.

"There was everywhere a rude military organization, which included all the able-bodied men in the community. Every settlement had its colonels and captains; but these officers, both in their training and in the authority they exercised, corresponded much more nearly to Indian chiefs than to the regular army whose titles they bore. They had no means whatever of en-

forcing their orders, and their tumultuous and disorderly levies of sinewy riflemen were hardly as well disciplined as the Indians themselves. The superior officer could advise, entreat, lead and influence his men, but he could not command them, or if he did, the men obeyed him only just so far as it suited them. If an officer planned a scout or campaign, those who thought proper accompanied him, and the others stayed at home, and even those who went came back if the fit seized them, or perchance followed the lead of an insubordinate junior officer whom they liked better than they did his superior. There was no compulsion to perform military duties beyond dread of being disgraced in the eyes of the neighbors and there was no pecuniary reward for performing them; nevertheless, the moral sentiment of a backwoods community was too robust to tolerate habitual remissness in military affairs, and the coward and laggard were treated with utter scorn, and were generally in the end either laughed or hated out of the community, or else got rid of in a more summary manner.

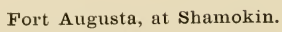
"All qualities, good and bad, are intensified and accentuated in the life of the wilderness. The man who in civilization is merely sullen and bad tempered becomes a murderous, treacherous ruffian, when transplanted to the wilds; while on the other hand his cheery, quiet neighbor develops into a hero, ready, uncomplainingly to lay down his life for his friend. One who in an eastern city is merely a backbiter and slanderer, in the western woods lies in wait for his foe with a rifle; sharp practice in the east becomes highway robbery in the west; but at the same time negative good nature becomes active self sacrifice, and a general belief in virtue is translated into a prompt and determined war upon vice. The ne'er do well of a family who in one place has his debts paid a couple of times and is then forced to resign from his clubs and lead a cloudy but innocuous existence on a small pension, in the other abruptly finishes his career by being hung for horse stealing. In the backwoods the lawless led lives of abandoned wickedness; they hated good for good's sake, and did their utmost to destroy it. Where the bad element was large, gangs of horse thieves, highwaymen and other criminals often united with the uncontrollable young men of vicious tastes who were given to gambling, fighting and the like. They then formed half secret organizations, often of great extent and of

wide ramifications, and if they could control a community they established a reign of terror, driving out both ministers and magistrates, and killing without scruple those who interfered with them. The good men in such a case banded themselves together as regulators and put down the wicked with ruthless severity by the exercise of lynch law, shooting or hanging the worst off-hand.

"The excesses so often committed by the whites, when, after many checks and failures, they at last grasped victory, are causes for shame and regret; yet it is only fair to keep in mind the terrible provocations they had endured. Mercy, pity, magnanimity to the fallen could not be expected from the frontiersmen gathered together to war against an Indian tribe. Almost every man of such a band had bitter personal wrongs to avenge. He was not taking part in a war against a civilized foe; he was fighting in a contest where women and children suffered the fate of the strong man, and instead of the enthusiasm for his country's flag and a general national animosity toward its enemies, he was actuated by a furious flame of hot anger, and was goaded on by memories of which merely to think was madness. His friends had been treacherously slain while on messages of peace; his house had been burned, his cattle driven off, and all he had in the world destroyed before he knew that war existed, and when he felt quite guiltless of all offence; his sweetheart or wife had been carried off, ravished and was at the moment the slave and concubine of some dirty and brutal Indian warrior; his son, the stay of his house, had been burned at the stake with torments too horrible to mention; his sister, when ransomed and returned to him, had told of the weary journey through the woods, when she carried round her neck as a horrible necklace the bloody scalps of her husband and children. Seared into his eyeballs, into his very brain, he bore ever with him, waking or sleeping, the sight of the skinned, mutilated, hideous body of the baby who had just grown old enough to recognize him and to crow and laugh when taken in his arms. It was small wonder that men who had thus lost everything should sometimes be fairly crazed by their wrongs and devote the remainder of their wretched lives to the one object of taking vengeance on the whole race of the men who had darkened their days forever. Too often the squaws and pap-pooes fell victims of the vengeance that should have come only

on warriors; for the whites regarded their foes as beasts rather than men, and knew that the squaws were more cruel than others in torturing prisoners and that the very children took part therein, being held up by their fathers to tomahawk the dying victims at the stake."

Daniel Webster says: "It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were—in a log cabin raised amidst the snow drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early as that when the smoke first rose from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills, there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist, and I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to inspire like sentiments in them and to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. Taunt and scoffing at the humble condition of early life affect nobody in this country but those who are foolish enough to indulge in them. For myself I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affection and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode. I weep to think that none of those who inhabited it are now among the living; and if ever I am ashamed of it, or if I ever fail in affectionate veneration for him who reared it, and defended it against savage violence and destruction, cherished by all the domestic virtues beneath its roof, and through the fire and blood of a seven years' Revolutionary War shrunk from no danger, no toil, no sacrifice to serve his country and to raise his children to a condition better than his own, may the name of my posterity be blotted forever from the memory of man."



Fort Augusta, at Shamokin.

CHAPTER XIX.

FORT AUGUSTA.

IF a people were seeking an ideal location to build a city where there were presented the various forms of attractions essential to the requirements of a community, possibly no better place could be discovered in the State of Pennsylvania than the spacious plain at the confluence of the north and west branches of the Susquehanna. Two great rivers here combine to form a greater, each of them bearing the commerce of extensive districts in which all the riches of nature are bountifully produced. The one branch reaching into the region of great forests and wells of flowing oil; the other into immense plains of grain and beds of salt; both of them touching ramifications extending on the one hand to the mighty Mississippi, on the other to the majestic St. Lawrence. At the junction of these streams the lofty and rugged mountains come to a sudden termination and in one bold spur stand guard over the waters and plain in majestic repose. Back of the plain is a country of beautiful fertility, where nature readily responds to the toil of man and produces a variety of grains, vegetables, fruits and flowers sufficient to gratify and satisfy the most exacting craving of the appetite of man. And over all this there reigns a climatic condition that gives to the inhabitants the prospect of a hearty and enjoyable career reaching into a vigorous old age.

With such an impression upon their minds many men of noted abilities chose this place to build home and fortune as the country harmoniously increased in production and population. Among these were Dr. Priestly, the world famous scientific scholar, and Col. Plunket, the soldier, and Frederick Antes, the democrat. Each of these men represented a class that grew in numbers as the country was opened to the march of improvement and civilization.

Previous to the incursion of the permanent settlers, this place had been recognized as a notable location. It was the most

important Indian town in Pennsylvania. The Six Nations held this as a strategic point at an early day, and made it the seat of a viceroy, who ruled for them the tributary tribes that dwelt along the waters of the winding river. Here the Iroquois warriors on their return from predatory expeditions against the Cherokees and Catawbas would make a halt and hold carousals for the last time before reaching Onondaga.

It was Shikellimy's home, and here he ruled as Viceroy the branches of the Six Nations. This was the boyhood home of Logan, and here he learned the beneficent spirit of the Moravians in their kind dealing with the red men. Here Conrad Weiser was accustomed to stop and rest himself when on long journeys from the provincial governors to the Indian headquarters at Onondaga. Here Zinzendorf rested and met some of the chiefs; here Martin Mack and his wife settled in 1745 as the first of the Moravian missionaries to the seat of Indian power. At this time it was in all its glory as an Indian place of carousals. Mack says of it: "In September of 1745, my wife and I were sent to Shamokin, the very seat of the Prince of Darkness. During the four months that we resided there we were in constant danger, and there was scarcely a night but we were compelled to leave our hut and hide in the woods from fear of the drunken savages."

David Brainerd visited Shamokin in the same year and wrote of it: "The town lies partly on the east and west shores of the river, and partly on the island. It contains upwards of fifty houses and three hundred inhabitants. The Indians of this place are accounted the most drunken, mischievous and ruffian-like fellows of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner. About one-half are Delawares, the others Senecas and Tutelars."

Allummapees, the Delaware King, was quite old and infirm and some wanted him to give up his position to a successor, but he would not agree to it. Conrad Weiser said of him: "Allummapees would have given up the crown before now but as he had the keeping of the public treasure (that is to say, of the council bag), consisting of belts of wampum, for which he buys liquor, and has been drunk for these two or three years almost constantly, it is thought that he won't die so long as there is one single wampum left in the bag." The old chief died in 1747,

and Shikellimy, his neighbor, showing directly the opposite kind of a character, died in 1748.

Fort Augusta stood at about forty yards distance from the river on a bank twenty-four feet from the surface of the water; the side toward the water was a strong palisade, the bases of the logs being sunk four feet in the earth, the top holed and spiked into strong ribbons which ran transversely and were morticed into several logs at twelve feet distance from each other, which were larger and higher than the rest; the joints between each palisade broke with firm logs well fitted on the inside and supported by the platform. The other three sides were composed of logs laid horizontally, neatly done, dovetailed and trunnelled down. They were squared. Some of the lower ends were three feet in diameter, the least from two and a half feet to eighteen inches, and were mostly of white oak. There were six four-pound cannon mounted, one in the side of each bastion fronting the river bank, and one in the flank of each of the opposite bastions. The woods were cleared to the distance of three hundred yards, and some progress had been made in cutting the bank of the river into a glacis.

Inventory of Fort Augusta December 6th, 1758: Twelve pieces of cannon in good order, two swivels in good order, four blunderbusses in good order, seven hundred rounds of cannon balls, one hundred and twenty-three bags of grape shot, three hundred and eighty-three cartridges of powder made for cannon, one hundred and twelve cartridges made for swivels, twelve barrels of powder, forty-six hand grenades, twenty-nine rounds of cut shot.

There are many traditions centering at the confluence of the great branches of the Susquehanna. During the French and English war it was quite certain that the principals of both nations had their eyes upon it. The fact that the Indians had made it the dwelling place of their viceroy, and that all parties traveling up and down the river found it a convenient stopping place, gave the suggestion of its importance. There is a tradition that a French party came to the top of Blue Hill opposite and carefully examined the fort to see if it would be possible for them to capture it. But that this could not be done without cannon was evident, and after harassing the garrison in a petty way they departed.

The advent of the French was a serious matter, for they had boasted that they would show no quarter to the garrison if they captured them. For months the garrison was kept in a state of alarm by the reports that came to them. On one occasion Job Chilloway arrived from Onondaga with the information that the Six Nations were holding a Grand Council at which he was present. It was opened by four chiefs who sang the war song and passed around an uncommonly large war belt. They had given permission to the French to pass through their towns and to erect a fort on the Susquehanna, from which point they could descend in batteaux. Nearly a thousand warriors were ready and waiting for the word to begin their slaughter of the settlers and the devastation of their homes. In July Chilloway reported the descent of various bands of Indians on the Juniata but who were stopped by friendly Indians. The constant prowling about of the Indians led the commander of the fort to resort to a device which was practiced by the ancient armies of Rome and other nations. It was to strew caltrops in



the woods and swamps and wherever prowlers might try to steal a march, and thus render the dark and hidden places more dangerous to the sneaking savage than the open front of the fort would be. Some of these caltrops had been brought from England, but it was easy for the blacksmith of the fort to make any quantity of them. They were made of iron, or wire, by welding two pieces together crosswise, then bending the prongs, which were from one and a half to two inches long, so that no matter how dropped one prong with its sharp point would always stand erect and pierce the foot or leg of the one who stepped upon it. As the prongs were barbed like a fish-hook it was a difficult matter to take them out, and would often cause lockjaw.

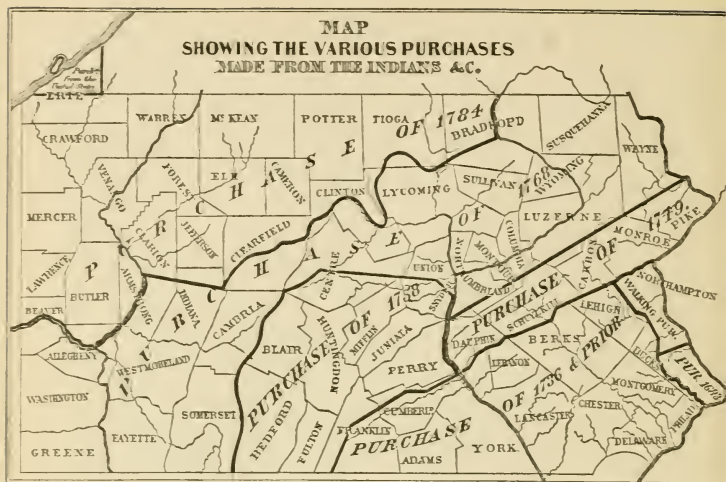
After the war was ended cattle often stepped upon these caltrops, and many died from the effect of the wound, hence searching parties were sent out to hunt for them, and several barrels of them were gathered and placed for safe keeping in the magazine of the fort.

The diary of Colonel James Burd, the commander of Fort Augusta during these troublesome times, reveals the daily an-

noyances to which they were subjected. It was a dangerous place for so small a number of soldiers to be in, when no one could know what the next combination of French and Indians might be, or how soon a flotilla of boats might appear on the North Branch, or the West Branch, manned by fierce savages in war paint and scalping knives sharpened for action. It was heroic to hold the place, and as long as the soldiers were able to do that it was a demonstration to the Indians of the power and the success of the English speaking white man.

The charm of the forests to the soldiers of the province was apparent when the officers of the First and Second Battalions, before they reached their homes from the expedition against the Indians at Fort Duquesne, held a meeting at Bedford and determined to apply to the Proprietaries for a tract of land upon which they might settle as a community and establish homes. In their request they declared that they proposed to embody themselves in a compact settlement on some good lands at some distance from the inhabited part of the province, where, by their industry, they might procure a comfortable subsistence for themselves, and by their arms, union and increase, become a powerful barrier to the province. They further represented that the land already purchased did not afford any situation convenient for their purpose; but the confluence of the two branches of the Susquehanna at Shamokin did, and they, therefore, prayed the Proprietaries to make the purchase, and make them a grant of forty thousand acres of arable land on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Their request was received with approval, and accordingly Thomas and Richard Penn held a treaty with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, on the 5th of November, 1768, and made the purchase which is known as the New Purchase.

“In consideration of ten thousand dollars, they (the Six Nations) grant to Thomas and Richard Penn, all that part of the Province of Pennsylvania not heretofore purchased of the Indians within the said boundary line, and beginning in the same boundary line on the east side of the East Branch of the Susquehanna river, at a place called Owegy, and running with the said boundary line down the said branch on the east side thereof till it comes opposite the mouth of a creek called by the Indians Awandac, and across the river and up the said creek on the south side thereof and along the range of hills called Burnett’s Hills



The New Purchase of 1768.

by the English on the north side of them to the heads of a creek which runs into the West Branch of the Susquehanna, which creek is by the Indians called Tiadaghton, and down the said creek on the south side thereof to the said West Branch of the Susquehanna, then crossing the said river and running up the the same on the south side thereof the several courses thereof to the fork of the same river which lies nearest to a place on the river Ohio called the Kittanning, and from the the said fork by a straight line to Kittanning aforesaid, and then down the said river Ohio by the several courses thereof to where the western bounds of the said Province of Pennsylvania cross the said river, and then with the said western bounds to the south boundary thereof, and with the south boundary aforesaid to the east side of the Allegheny hills, and with the said hills on the east side of them to the west line of a tract of land purchased by the said proprietors from the Six Nations and confirmed October 23rd. 1758; and then with the northern bounds of that tract to the river Susquehanna and crossing the river Susquehanna to the northern boundary line of another tract of land purchased of the

Indians by deed August 22nd, 1749; and then with that boundary line to the river Delaware at the north side of the mouth of a creek called Lechawachsein, then up the said river Delaware on the west side thereof to the intersection of it by an east line to be drawn from Owege aforesaid to the river Delaware, and then with that east line to the beginning at Owege aforesaid."

No sooner was this purchase made known than a crowd of Scotch-Irish adventurers who had been among those who roamed the forest for game, either of animals or Indians, and others who were speculators with a view to securing favorable settlement, and young men who as surveyors had already seen these lands and had been anxious to secure a foothold upon them, besieged the land office in the following April and presented their claims as having prior right because of improvements which they alleged to have made. So great was the number of applicants that it was deemed necessary to decide by lottery the priority of location. The purchasers were limited to three hundred acres for each individual, at five pounds per one hundred acres, and one penny per acre quit rent. An allotment was made of one hundred and four thousand acres to the officers of the provincial regiments who had served during the previous Indian campaigns, and who were desirous of settling together. Samuel Wallis, who was the greatest land speculator on the frontier, secured a tract of five thousand acres which extended from Larry's Creek, on the north side of the Susquehanna, to Pine Creek. His land was surveyed in June, 1772. But he had received his deed April 3rd, 1769.

In the public newspapers appeared the following Land Office advertisement:

"The Land Office will be open on the third day of April next, at ten o'clock in the morning, to receive applications from all persons inclinable to take up lands in the New Purchase, upon terms of five pounds sterling per hundred acres, and one penny per acre per annum quit-rent. No person will be allowed to take up more than three hundred acres without a special license from the Proprietaries or Governor. The surveys made upon all applications are to be made and returned within six months, and the whole purchase money paid at one payment, and patent taken out within twelve months from the date of the application, with interest and quit-rent from six months after the application. If there

be a failure on the side of the party applying in either proving his survey and return to be made, or in paying the purchase money and obtaining the patent, the application and the survey will be utterly void and the Proprietaries will be at liberty to dispose of the land to any other person whatever. And as these terms will be strictly adhered to by the Proprietaries all persons are hereby warned and cautioned not to apply for more land than they will be able to pay for in the time hereby given for that purpose.

“By order of the Governor. James Tilghman, Secretary of the Land Office.

“Philadelphia Land Office, February 23rd, 1769.”

On the first day the office was open there was a rush of applicants and two thousand seven hundred and eighty-two applications were issued and directed to the deputy surveyors in their respective districts in the purchase of 1768, including the north side of the river from Lycoming to Pine Creek. As soon as the applications were accepted surveyors were set to work to run the lines. In the same month they were in White Deer Hole Valley making surveys, and on the first of July in Black Hole Bottom, and on the 4th, 5th and 6th in Nippenose. The first survey in this Bottom was made on the application of Elizabeth Brown, numbered 44, and included the mouth of the creek. It was made July 4th, 1769. This became the home of Colonel Antes. On the 7th the first survey was made in Nippenose Valley for Ralph Foster.

One settler, Robert Martin, a native of New Jersey, has the distinction of building the first house at Sunbury, and this years before the town was surveyed by William Maclay. He was also the first to open a public house or tavern. After the New Purchase of 1768 Martin's tavern became the resort of all the land speculators and the center of public life.

In such places and at such times the reckless and improvident came to the front. The granting of lands to the officers of the late war brought them to the place of their riches and with them more or less of those who had served under them, to gather what crumbs might fall from the favors of these fortunate men. There also came many of that class who are ever on the lookout for adventure, who live on the excitement that is well spiced with hairbreadth escapes and beset by dangers from which men of

social delights would flee. They were not troubled with over-much conscience, and easily gave themselves to the inordinate use of whiskey, gambling, and brawls that often ended in horrible gouging and other mutilations. They were here to shear the lambs and to carry away the fleece. They defied everybody and were always ready for a battle. They made splendid Indian fighters, but were not adapted to the quiet of family life or the sobriety of a civilized community. With such men came the surveyors, mostly young men of good families, seeking their fortunes where brains and courage were esteemed. These men went boldly into the depths of the forests and measured out the boundaries that were destined to be the foundation of order and home to the people whom they served.

In 1772 so many people had come to the new country that a new county was formed, called Northumberland county, and the old Indian town of Shamokin, called Fort Augusta, afterward Sunbury, was made the county seat, and a new era began.

The new stage was not marked merely by the erection of buildings for dispensing justice and the care of criminals and the staking out of land grants, but also the formation of parties and the adoption of issues upon which the people might choose the men to serve them.

In Philadelphia at this time the burning question of the day was the effort of the Proprietary family to escape from paying taxes on their lands on the same basis as that exacted of the people. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was the leader of the peoples' movement and was pressing vigorously the cause against the Penns. The Whig party was divided into two camps, the one desiring the King of England to resume direct authority over the province and annul the charter to the Penns, while the other party hoped that the question might be settled and the government remain under its present form and control. The great political upheaval that was destined to so soon manifest its vigor was not yet apparent to even the most astute of the leaders of public opinion.

The political questions were not confined to the seat of government but were taken up by the liberty loving people all through the colonies. The formation of the new county and the consequent rivalries of the leading men gave the occasion for these public questions to be placed in the fore-front and to lay the foun-

dation of parties that have endured to the present day. Dr. William Plunket was chosen Judge of the Court, and William Cooke, Sheriff. Three years later John Henry Antes received an appointment as Justice, and in company with these men began a career of public service that has rendered the names of all of them honorable because of the brave performance of duty in the most trying circumstances that could have fallen to them. During these days strong men were needed to guide public affairs. Important questions were at issue requiring the utmost courage and discrimination. The universal use of whiskey, and the habit of gambling, produced a class of cases that swelled the criminal calendar and called for prompt and severe punishment. There were mistakes in settlements of accounts because of the tangled currency of the colony. There were questions of rights brought out by the encroachments of those whose land boundaries seemed to conflict.

In the appointment of Antes to the Judiciary there was a recognition of moral force in the dispensing of justice, as well as mental acumen. The adaptability of Antes to this position was apparent when it was remembered that from early childhood he had been accustomed to decisions touching questions of colonial law, and that his father's house was the resort of those most deeply interested in the development of the rights of the people within the scope of the common law. Thus there had been laid in his mind a foundation for legal reasoning that now served him well in the settlement of the complicated questions that naturally and frequently came before the bench of Justices.

While these prominent men dwelt in Sunbury or Northumberland during the time of their public service, they had their homes in various parts of the county, and were thus in touch with the thoughts and wishes of all the men on the frontier. During this time the best places of the valleys were being occupied by the men who distinguished themselves in the coming troubles. They comprised a race of heroes. In 1769 John Brady purchased a tract of land at Muncy. The same year Samuel Wallis took up seven thousand acres along the river, and as the representative of the Holland Land Company, secured some kind of a hold on nearly all the good lands as far up the river as the mouth of Pine Creek. In 1770 John Fleming purchased the land where Lock Haven stands, and Nathan Slough the site of Wil-

liamsport. At the same time Casper Weitzel settled in Sunbury and John Weitzel opened a store in the same town. In 1771 Walter Clarke bought one hundred and fifteen acres in Buffalo Valley. In 1772 John Lowden took up his abode in Buffalo Valley with slaves. John McCormick settled at Loyalsock, and Turbott Nesbit purchased Deer Park, on which the Park Hotel of Williamsport now stands. In 1773 James Alexander settled on Pine Creek as the first settler there. Andrew Culbertson settled in Mosquito Valley, William Reed settled at Lock Haven, Bratton Caldwell settled at Pine Run, John Montgomery in Turbott Township and Matthew Brown in White Deer. These were some of the men who have made the West Branch Valley famous. They were the friends and neighbors of John Henry Antes—the men with whom he worked to make that beautiful valley the abode of righteousness and peace. They comprise the roll of honor from which no mutations of events can ever displace them.

So rapidly did the people come that it soon became necessary to change from a backwoods settlement to that of a town. Therefore, on the 16th of June, 1772, the Governor and the Council issued an order to Surveyor General Lukens to repair to Fort Augusta, and, with the assistance of William Maclay, lay out a town for the county of Northumberland, to be called by the name of Sunbury, at the most commodious place between the forks of the river and the mouth of Shamokin Creek. The streets were arranged on the plan of Philadelphia, that is, at right angles. Here and there, in choice parts of the town, lots were specially reserved for the Proprietaries. The streets were named suggestively of their surroundings as follows: Deer, Fawn; Elderberry, Hurtleberry, Pokeberry, Blackberry, etc.

Among the lot holders are the names of the men who soon became prominent in the affairs of the county in the beginning of its existence, although many of those who at a later period were prominent settled across the river in the more aristocratic town of Northumberland. Several of the lot holders of Sunbury were prominent as pioneers in the surrounding valleys. Such was Elias Yungman, from Berks county, whose brother-in-law was the Sheriff of Berks county, and whose grandson married Amelia, the granddaughter of Colonel Henry Antes. His lot was No. 26, on Shamokin street.

April 2nd, 1773. William Maclay wrote as follows:

" To J. Tilghman, Sir: I inclose you a letter from three of the Trustees for the publick buildings of this County, respecting some measures which we have lately fallen on to rescue us from the scandal of living intirely without any Place of confinement or punishment for Villains. Captain Hunter had address enough to render abortive every attempt that was made last summer for keeping a regular Jail, even after I had been at considerable expense in fitting up the Magazine, under which there is a small but compleat Dungeon. I am sorry to inform you That he has given our present Measures the most Obstinate Resistance in his power and impeded Us with every embarrassment in the Compass of his Invention. We know nothing of the Footing on which Captain Hunter has possession of these Buildings, but only beg that the County may be accommodated with this old Magazine, with the addition proposed to be made to it, and with the House in which I now live, to hold our courts in; I have repaired the House in which I now live, But expect to have an House ready to remove to in Sunbury before our November Court. As the present repairs are done intirely by subscription, you will readily guess that Captain Hunter is not among the number of subscribers. As there are many pieces of old Iron, &c., which formerly belonged to the fort, not of any use at present, the Trustees propose using any of them which can be converted to any advantage for Grates, &c., for our temporary Goal, unless they receive contrary directions from Philadelphia. If Hell is justly considered as the rendivous of rascals, we cannot entertain a doubt of Wioming being the place. Burn'd hands, cut Ears, &c., are considered as the certain certificates of superior merit; we have certain Accounts of their having had several meetings lately to chuse a Sovereign and settle the State, &c., for it seems they have not now any Dependence on the Government of Connecticut. The Time of the Descent on the West Branch, Fort Augusta, &c., is now fixed for May next; I have no Doubt but the Desperate Tempers of these People will hurry them into some tragical affair which will at last rouse our Government when it may be too late to repair the mischief done by them. At the same time I am told that there are some among them who would willingly become quiet subjects, and are afraid to own their sentiments. Patterson has the other day been offered

1,200.00 for the same number of acres not far from your land. I would not have you sell. Dr. Plunkit goes down in a few days; 'tis likely I may send another letter by him.

“And am with the greatest Esteem, Sir, Your most Obedient humble Servant, Wm. Maclay.”

On the 23rd of July, 1774, the Colonial Legislature passed an act for lending the sum of eight hundred pounds to the county of Northumberland for building a Court House and Prison. It was finished in 1776. It was a stone and brick structure, one part being used for a court house and the other for a prison. It cost \$4,000. On the green in front of it the whipping post was set up.

CHAPTER XX.

FROM INN-HOLDER TO FRONTIERSMAN.

THE roads leading from the country settlements into Philadelphia were oftentimes so miry that the method of travel was to leave the wagons at some hostelry at Chestnut Hill or Frankford, and proceed to the city on horseback, with panniers at the sides, laden with the goods for sale or exchange. This was before the day of turnpikes, and the condition of the roads affected the methods of trading to a great extent. At Chestnut Hill, Abraham Rex was one of a number who established stores, or warehouses, from which the country people could get the supplies they needed, and not wait until the condition of the roads made it possible for them to go into Philadelphia. There was a large profit at this time to Rex and men of his trade, which quickly disappeared when the day of turnpikes came. But by that time they were rich in this world's goods. Next to these stores the ones that profitted were the inn-keepers, who furnished entertainment for the farmers, and stabling for their wagons. At Chestnut Hill particularly, and along the Germantown Road, these inns were supplied with immense yards, into which the farmers drove their wagons, and kept them until they were ready to return to their homes. The worse the weather the more the profit to the inn-keeper. It was this kind of a place that attracted the attention of Henry Antes, and as he had no difficulty in borrowing the necessary money from Abraham Rex, he was soon established in the business of attending to the needs of the traveling public.

The inn was on the thoroughfare along which all the travel from Bethlehem to Philadelphia passed, and also the main line to the northern part of New York State. The public post with the regular stage relays, the Indian embassies and the officials of the frontier, the Germans from the Tolpehocking country, and the Scotch-Irish from the Minisink valleys all came to the city by this road. The inn was on one of the main arteries of the

Province and second to none in the variety and quantity of its travel. The German people were clannish and fond of their own race. To them there was a desire to rest where their mother tongue was spoken. They realized the charm of consanguinity. Antes was the son of one of their great leaders. No German in the province had a better name than he. The associations with the Bethlehem school and the Moravian community won that class to his support. The wife of Antes was the daughter of an honored German, whose inn at Hanover had won a reputation and where she had cultivated acquaintances that were now renewed with pleasure under these new circumstances. For many reasons, we may suppose, a large and profitable patronage would be given to the daughter of the well-known inn-holder. Moreover, Antes was connected with one of the most prominent and wealthy of the Germantown families. Justice Dewees was his uncle. The Crefield Paper and Flour Mills had at one time belonged to the father and grandfather of Antes. Thirty years before there was no name higher in the religious circles of Germantown than that of Antes. His brother Frederick was at this time one of the Justices of the county, and there was everything to assure him prosperity in the establishment he had opened. Daily his large yard was filled with the wagons of former neighbors and friends, and news from Bethlehem and Tulpehocking and Hanover was gladly given and received. In this employment there was abundant opportunity for the manifestation of that cordiality and generous hospitality so natural to the German heart. Thus Mine Host was able to keep a place in the hearts of his people that made it a pleasure to them to stop at his inn and rest before they finished the journey to the city, where the language and the customs of the people were so strange to them. These Germans felt safer in the city because Antes directed them to the hostleries where Germans were not imposed upon and they could get the entertainment needed in the true country German fashion.

Watson says: "The late Indian King Tavern, in High street near Third street, was the oldest inn in the city. When kept by Mr. Biddle it was a famous house. There the Junto held their club and assembled such men as Doctor Franklin, Hugh Roberts, Charles Thomson, &c. The Crooked Billet Inn was the first house entered by Benjamin Franklin when he came to

Philadelphia in 1723. The Pewter Platter Inn was at the corner of Front and Jones alley. The inn called the Three Crowns was where Richard Penn and other governors, generals and gentry feasted. Pegg Mullen's Beef Steak House, on the east side of Water street, was the usual stopping place of persons from Boston to Georgia. Mrs. Graydon's Boarding House, on Front street, was where the officers of the English army and such members of noble families as came to the city boarded. The Conestoga Inn, on Market street near Fourth, was the resort of military and western men. The Black Bear, an old two-story frame building on High street near Fifth, was a great resort of the western people who came with their wagons. There was a large wagon yard attached to it. Other taverns were named Admiral Warren, The Turk's Head, The Rattlesnake, The Queen of Hungary, The Queen's Head, The Blue Lion, and the Man Loaded With Mischief—the sign being a man carrying his wife on his back. Far out of town, on the north side of Vine street, between Seventh and Eighth, was a tavern built of wood and painted red. It was for years the great rendezvous for the enlistments for the army in the Revolution, and for the Indian wars afterward. Then it became the resort of the drovers. Between it and the city were extensive green commons and fields for sheep grazing. At the corner of Front and High streets was the London Coffee House, where the Governor and other distinguished persons were accustomed to meet and sip coffee. It was here that slaves were sold. In 1780 Gifford Daly leased it from the owner and in the lease stipulated that he 'covenants and agrees and promises that he will exert his endeavor as a Christian to preserve decency and order in said house, and to discourage the profanation of the sacred name of God Almighty by cursing, swearing, &c., and that the house on the First day of the week shall always be kept closed from public use, that so regard and reverence may be manifested for retirement and worship of God; he further covenants that under a penalty of one hundred pounds he will not allow or suffer any person to use, play at, or divert themselves with cards, dice, back-gammon, or any other unlawful game.' "

Clarke's Inn was where the voters cast their ballots. After the Revolution it was called the Half Moon. Watson says of it: "In the colonial days it was long known as Clarke's

Inn, at which he had the sign of the coach and horses. All that we can say of mine host is that he prepared dogs—real dogs—for cooking the meat of the epicures and gentry. In 1745 he advertises in the public prints that he has for sale several dogs and wheels much preferable to any jacks for roasting any joint of meat. He trained little dogs, bow-legged dogs, called spit dogs, to run in a hollow cylinder like a squirrel, by which impulse was given to a turn-jack which kept the meat in motion suspended before the kitchen fire.”

Previously to the Revolution the city of Philadelphia was within the limit bounded by Catherine street on the south, Seventh street on the west and Race street on the north. Outside of these limits there were occasional houses and clusters of houses, but the general expanse was in woods, fields, orchards and gardens. Germantown was one street, lined on both sides with peach trees, and the main travel through it had all the inconveniences of mud and mire except in dry seasons. The road was up and down hill, and hard to travel, thus either going or coming the farmers were glad to rest their horses and refresh themselves at the inn kept by the genial and progressive Henry Antes.

At this time every traveler that returned from the frontier had tales to tell of the marvellous opportunities afforded settlers there. In the tap room of the inn these tales were listened to with avidity, and the accounts lost nothing in interest in the telling. To a man of means and prosperous like Antes these presented an opening which prudence dictated he should follow. When he took a trip through the described lands his mind was convinced, and he made preparations to leave the settled lands and become one of the advance guard on the frontier. At that time everything had a roseate hue. The Indians were peaceable; multitudes were going, and the emigrating fever was well nigh universal.

It may also have been that by this time he was heartily tired of the business into which he had entered. His training and natural tastes did not lie in this direction. However good an inn-keeper might be, in those days, when drinking was universal, there was a great deal of drunkenness. To see such depravity about his place was contrary to all his antecedents and training. For awhile the strangeness of it could be tolerated because it was a

branch of legitimate business. The inn-holders were prominent in the community and they had influence in all public affairs. There was a charm in being looked up to by the men of the community as well as the traveling public. There was also a delight in being saluted as a friend by all the great men and prominent men that passed over the leading highways of the province.

To minister to their wants, and be called "Mine Host," was flattering to say the least. To break away from this was a severe trial of strength of character. The more so, as it led to the opposite experience, setting up a home in a log cabin, where neighbors were few and solitude was almost supreme. Yet this was what Henry Antes did. In this he was encouraged by his brothers, for we find that his brother William joined with him to purchase a place on the West Branch of the Susquehanna. There was a tract of land opposite the Great Island which had on it two springs that lay close to the mountain. There was also on it a cabin and a blacksmith shop. There were also eight acres of it cleared and fenced. It was the home of Nicholas Bonner, a blacksmith, who had settled there on the first opening of the New Purchase, as an advance servant of the public, with a courage that deserved the greatest praise. He had not obtained his deed from the Proprietaries, but trusting in the right being done, as so many of the settlers were compelled to do, went forward with his improvements. When Antes, in his journeying, saw this place and learned that Bonner was tired of his work and wished to sell, he bought from him, with the understanding that he was to pay thirty-five pounds currency, and if a deed could be obtained from the Proprietaries the payment should be sixty-five pounds. The article of agreement was signed September 29th, 1773.

Henry Antes also united with William and John Dunn, who had settled on Bigg Island, and purchased land lying on the west side of the river near the Bigg Island. They retained this land until November, 1776, when they sold it to John Read, of Philadelphia.

The place chosen by Henry Antes for his home was one of the most favored locations along the Susquehanna river. The great mountain range rose steep and high along the south bank of the river, with here and there a break in the mountain, through

which a stream, gathering the waters of the springs and rivulets, flowed to the river. The strongest of these streams from Muncy to Great Island was that which flowed from the valley, named after an old Indian, Nippenucy, Nippenose.

The valley is oval in shape, about ten miles long and from two to three miles wide. It is surrounded by a series of mountain peaks, each about four hundred feet high, and outside of these the chains of unbroken mountains appear. There is but one outlet for this valley and that is through the gap forming the bed of the creek which Henry Antes named after himself, Antes Creek. The Indians had three paths by which they entered or departed from the valley, one being over the mountain from White Deer Valley, another by Love's Gap toward the Great Island, and the other by the gap along Antes Creek. The valley was evidently at one time an inland lake, which finally burst through the mountain and swept by the force of the waters the soil from its place down upon the bank of the river. The soil thus swept away now forms the great headland that compelled the river to bend in its course, and furnished a hill from which the valley of the West Branch, from Loyalsock creek to Bald Eagle creek, could be kept in view. The sides of the gap through which this mighty rush of waters passed is an expanse of bare stones, broken and steep, but now tree covered, yet a perpetual reminder of the manner in which the inland lake lost its existence. When the earliest settlers came they found this valley free from great trees and covered only with brush and bushes, and they hastened to settle in a spot from which the forest was already removed. The valley is a great bed of limestone, forming a rich and fertile soil. All the waters that flow into it from the girdle of the hills are lost in the bed of the valley and reappear in a great spring at the head of the gap, and flow through the gap in a broad stream. The entire length of this stream became the property of the Antes family, and at the mouth of it Henry Antes determined to build his home. From the hill above his cabin there was an extensive view of the beautiful valley on the other side of the river, on which were a number of squatters who framed a code of laws for their own government, called the Fair Play Code.

When the treaty was made with the Indians concerning the New Purchase, there was a misunderstanding concerning one of the boundary lines, which affected the ownership of a remark-

ably fine territory. In the agreement the boundary line was the stream called Tiadaghton, and the question was whether it was the stream now known as Lycoming creek or that known as Pine creek. It was afterwards discovered that by it the Indians meant Pine creek, but when they saw the uncertainty, and possibly regretting their bargain, and with a spirit of cunning that showed their grasping nature, they gave out the impression that they had meant Lycoming creek. The geography of the country was not as well known then as it is now, or they would not have been able to have produced the confusion as to boundaries which their complaints engendered.

When the New Purchase was thrown open to settlers there was a great rush for the choice locations. It was true that the officers had secured by the grants to them well favored spots, and had thus reduced the amount of land, but there was still enough to supply every one that made a claim a good location for a home. When the claims were presented there were often several claiming the same location, and it was impossible for the officers of the land office to know who had the prior right. In this case they resorted to a lottery to decide the favored claimant. There were also some who made claims and then sold their claims, thus enjoying a speculation of more or less advantage to themselves. As the law did not permit one person to take up more than a limited acreage, there were some who got other men to take up lands for them, paying them for the use of their names, and thus in reality setting aside the purpose of equal rights which actuated the Proprietors in their dealings with the people. But there were many true settlers who were in search of a home, and when they had chosen it were not disposed to yield their claim to any other claimant.

When the settlers came up the river and saw the valley in all its beauty and richness of verdure, they could not be otherwise than surprised to see that along the river above Lycoming creek the New Purchase was mostly a steep and high mountain, rising directly from the river shore and covered with a dense forest of large trees. While on the other side, in the disputed territory, there were level plains and rounded hills, and every appearance of extreme fertility. In fact the Indians still claimed the garden spot of the West Branch. The Indians called it their hunting ground, and no one would dispute but that it was

a choice place for hunting, but the white man had come to build a more lasting structure than a hunter's lodge: he had come to build a home. It was contrary to nature for the white man to take to the rocky mountain side with such a plain before him unoccupied, particularly when the special presentation of that human nature was enclosed within a Celtic skin. The consequence was that the settlers bade defiance to the treaty and the protests of the Indians and the frowns of the people who were law-abiding, and struck their axes into the walnut and oak trees on the plain, and built themselves cabins or dug themselves caves, where they might lay their hearth-stones, and say to their wives and little ones, "This is our home!"

In the meantime the Indians did not behold this with complacency. When they found that the settlers were determined to continue their aggressions, they made their complaints to the provincial government so sharply that the Penns were alarmed, and the Council of State was called together to consider the best means of averting evil consequences, such as the previous wars with the Indians gave them to understand might be opened again. They remembered the advice of the Indians at the Easton conference in 1758, in regard to honest dealing in their treaty obligations. It was not enough for them to say that these white men had no rights there, and that their lands would not be surveyed, and thus they could have no deeds or lawful ownership. They were there, and the Indians demanded that they should remove from thence. Their presence ruined the good hunting.

On September 18th, 1773, the Governor informed the board of Council that he had received information that several families had lately squatted themselves on lands on the north side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna, beyond the boundaries of the late purchase made of the Indians at the treaty of Fort Stanwix, and it being considered that the making settlements on the Indian lands would create great uneasiness among them, and if not immediately removed, and prevented for the future, might be attended with fatal consequences, it was the opinion of the Board that a proclamation commanding the magistrates and other peace officers to enforce and carry the laws for preventing persons settling on any of the unpurchased lands in this province into execution against all persons who had already made such settlements, or should hereafter transgress the same law: the sec-

retary was accordingly directed to prepare a draft of a proclamation for that purpose. In accordance with this decision the proclamation was immediately drawn by the secretary and approved by John Penn September 20th, 1773. Then it was proclaimed throughout the entire province. The proclamation must have been as oil to the wounded feelings of the Indians, for it recited that any person settling on these lands, making surveys, cutting or marking trees, with the intention of appropriating the land, should be apprehended and tried in the Court of Quarter Sessions, and if convicted should pay a fine of five hundred pounds, and suffer imprisonment for twelve months, without bail or mainprize, and give surety for good behaviour during the space of twelve months from and after the expiration of the term of such imprisonment.

These squatters, however, held the rights of the Indians in supreme contempt, and paid no heed to the mandates of the law. With rifles and axes in hand they feared neither a civilized nor an uncivilized foe, and they boldly stuck to the land they had appropriated as their own.

But there was more of a law-abiding spirit among them than such conduct would indicate, for they recognized the need and the benefit of an organized community, and in their own way proceeded to put it into effect. They annually elected a tribunal in rotation of three of their number, whom they called Fair Play men. These men were to decide all controversies and settle disputed boundaries. From their decisions there was no appeal. There could be no resistance. The decree was enforced by the whole body, who started up in mass at the mandate of the court, and execution and eviction were as sudden and as irresistible as the judgment. Every new comer was obliged to apply to this powerful tribunal, and upon his solemn engagement to submit in all respects to the law of the land he was permitted to take possession of some vacant spot. When any person refused to comply with the decree, under the code of fair play, he was placed in a canoe, rowed down to the mouth of Lycoming creek, the boundary of civilization, and there set adrift.

The seat of justice of the Fair Play men was at Chatham's Mill, near the mouth of Chatham's run.

The following story was related by Joseph Antes, the son of Henry Antes: "A squatter named Andrew Clark, who set-

tled a short distance above the present location of Jersey Shore, got possession of a dog that belonged to an Indian. On learning who had his dog, the Indian complained to the Fair Play men that Clark had stolen his dog. They forthwith ordered his arrest and trial for the theft. He was convicted and sentenced to receive a certain number of lashes, and it was decided by lot who should flog him. As many grains of corn as there were men were placed in a bag, one of the grains being red, and the men drew therefrom. The man who drew the red grain should do the flogging. Joseph Antes drew the red grain. When the punishment was about to be administered, the Indian, who was magnanimous and sympathetic, made the proposition that if Clark would abandon the land where he had settled the punishment should be remitted. Clark accepted the conditions and left the community."

One of the leading Fair Play men of that time was Bratton Caldwell. On the breaking out of Indian hostilities he fled with his wife to Lancaster county. When peace was restored they returned. On May 2nd, 1785, he took out a pre-emption warrant and had three hundred and fifteen acres of land surveyed on the tract where he first settled.

The Fair Play courts were composed of three commissioners, as they were termed, and after hearing a case and making a decision there was no appeal. Bratton Caldwell was one of the commissioners, and according to tradition rendered good service. There was a law among the Fair Play men by which any man who absented himself for the space of six weeks lost his right to his improvement. In a case in court Caldwell testified: "In May, 1774, I was in company with William Greer and James Greer and helped to build a cabin on William Greer's place. (That was a mile north of the river and a half mile west of Lycoming creek.) Greer went into the army in 1776, and was a wagon master till the fall of 1778. He wrote to me to sell his cattle. In July, 1778, the runaway, John Martin, had come on the land in his absence. The Fair Play men put Greer in possession. If a man went into the army the Fair Play men protected his property. Greer came back in 1784."

William King testified as follows: "In 1775 I came on the land in question. I was informed that Joseph Haines claimed the land. He asked thirty pounds for it, which I would not give.

He said he was going to New Jersey and would leave it in the care of his nephew, Isaiah Sutton. Some time after I heard that Sutton was offering it for sale. I had heard much disputing about the Indian land and thought I would go up to Sutton's neighbors and inquire if he had any right. They told me Joseph Haines had once a right to it but had forfeited his right by the Fair Play law, and advised me to purchase. Huff showed me the consentable line between Haines and him. Huff's land lay above Haines' on the river. I purchased of Sutton and was to give him nine pounds for the land. I did not come to live on the land for some weeks. One night at a husking of corn, one Thomas Bond told me I was a fine fellow to be at a husking while a man was taking possession of my plantation. I quit the husking, and Bond and I came over to the place and went into a cave, the only tenement then on the land, except where Sutton lived, and found some trifling articles in the cave which I threw out. I went to the men who advised me to go on the land, all except Huff and Kemplen; they advised me to go on, turn him off and beat him if I was able. The next morning I got some of my friends and raised a cabin of some logs which I understood Haines had hauled. When we got it up to the square we heard a noise of people coming. The first person I saw was Edmund Huff foremost with a keg of whiskey, William Paul was next with an axe, and many more. They got on the cabin, raised the Indian yell, and dispossessed me and put William Paul in possession. I and my party went off. Samuel Dougherty followed me and told me to come back and come on terms with Paul, who had money and would not take it from me for nothing. I would not go back but waited for Dougherty, who went for Paul. The whole party came and brought the keg along. After some conversation William Paul agreed to give me thirteen pounds for my right. He pulled out the money, gave it to Huff to keep until I would assign my right. I afterwards signed the conveyance and got the money. William Paul went on the land and finished his cabin. Soon after a party brought Robert Arthur and built a cabin near Paul's in which Arthur lived. Paul applied to the Fair Play men who decided in favor of Paul. Arthur would not go off. Paul made a complaint to the company at a muster at (now Linden) that Arthur still lived on the land and would not go off, although the Fair Play men had de-

cided against him. I was one of the officers at that time and we agreed to come and run him off. The most of the company went down as far as Edmund Huff's, who kept stills. We got a keg of whiskey and proceeded to Arthur's cabin. He was at home with his rifle in his hand, and his wife had a bayonet on a stick, and they threatened death to the first person who should enter the house. The door was shut, and Thomas Kemplin, our captain, made a run at the door, burst it open, and instantly seized Arthur by the neck. We pulled down the cabin, threw it into the river, lashed two canoes together and put Arthur and his family and his goods into them and sent them down the river. William Paul then lived undisturbed on the land until the Indians drove us all away."

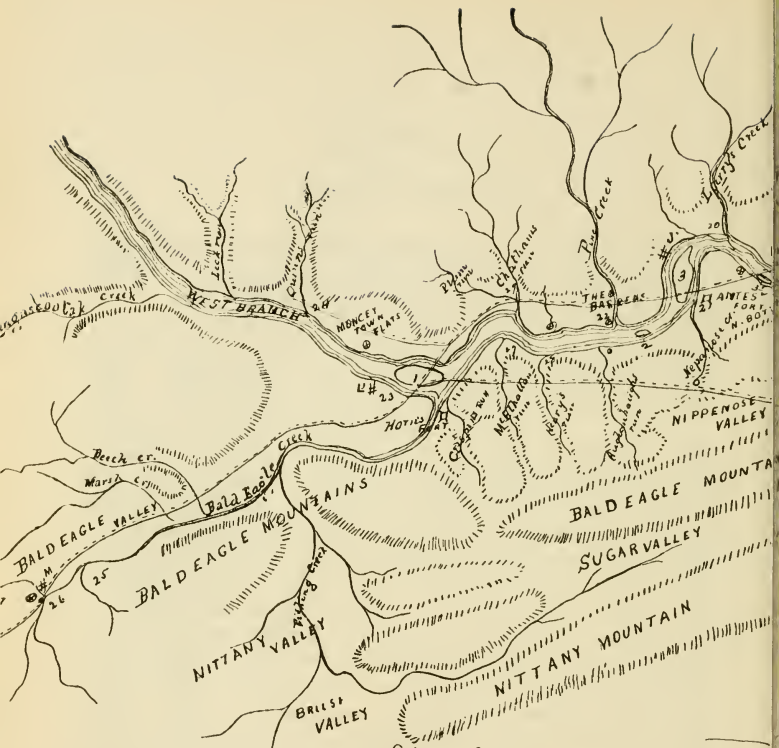
CHAPTER XXI.

PIONEER EXPERIENCES.

WHEN Henry Antes returned to his home in Germantown, he related his experiences in the most enthusiastic manner, and awakened such an echo in the minds of his sons, that they were ready to brave all the dangers and discomforts of the journey in order to be in the midst of such surroundings. They began at once to make traps for catching wild animals, and braiding horse hairs for fishing lines, and sharpened their axes for cutting down trees.

Henry, the eldest, was fifteen years of age, and was thoughtful, like his father. He was of a proud nature, and felt the dignity that belonged to a family holding the prominence accorded to the Antes family by the people of the community. Philip, his brother, was thirteen, and already gave evidence of that deeply religious tendency that afterward made him the standard bearer of Methodism in the forests of Center county. These were the only living children, but there were four little graves in the old family graveyard which were hard to leave, as also the grave of the mother of these boys, and the grave of the sainted grandfather. But when the fever of emigration seized upon the people of that day all other considerations were put aside, and hopeful strength to their every desire.

The summer days were rapidly passing when the preparations were completed and the adventurous family were on their way. The two horses were laden with what they could bear, comprising only the most necessary things, while the older brother stored in the huge market wagons the balance of their goods. Thus they started, and traveled over the well worn public highway to the landing place at the mouth of the Swatara, on the bank of the Susquehanna. From this point the horses were sent on overland, while the family with the goods entered into boats and were slowly propelled up the river. At this early day the roads through the forests were almost impassable



Islands

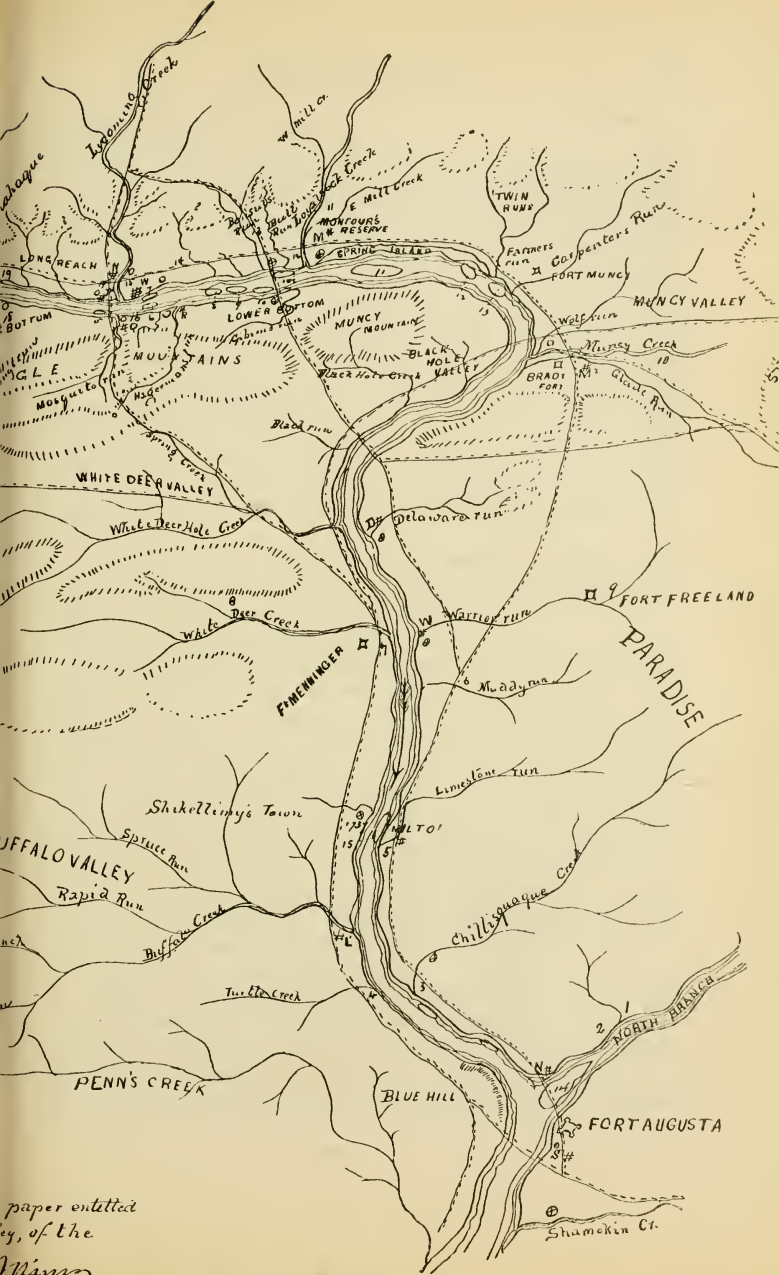
- 1- Great Island
- 2- Hughanbaugh's Island
- 3- Bailey's or the Long Island
- 3 1/2- Crane's Island
- 4- Jones's & Riddle's Island
- 5- Boone Island
- 6- Low's Island
- 7- Hepburn's Island
- 8- Gaffney's Island
- 9- Johnson's Island
- 10- Smith's Island
- 10 1/2- Harris' Island
- 11- Race Ground Island
- 12- Mitchell's Island
- 13- Wallis' Island
- 14- Cacker's Island
- 15- Vincent's or Anting's island.

Old Settlers

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Martin | 17 Joseph Haines |
| 2 Cook | 18 Armstrong |
| 3 Boyd | 19 Dennis O'Joner |
| 4 Jenkins | Branton Caldwell |
| 5 Hulings | 20 Simon Cove |
| 6 Slamt | Larry Burt |
| 7 Widow Smith | 21 Col Henry Antles |
| 8 Bennett | 22 King's |
| 9 Wilson | 23 Phelps |
| 10 Shoemaker | 24 Hurstons |
| 11 Wyck off & Cavanhuend | 25 Anter |
| 12 Hansh. Otarr | 26 Malone |
| 13 Thomeon | 27 Mc Elhattan |
| 14 Hinters | 28 Henry |
| 15 Amariah Sutton | 29 Chatham |
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SKETCH MAP,

Local Topography, of a portion of the West Branch of the SUSQUEHANNA RIVER.



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Muncy

for wagons, and the usual mode of transportation was by horseback or by boats.

The journey seemed long, but the constant novelties of the scenery and the changes in vegetation and in animal life kept them from weariness. Nor were they alone, for there were others travelling to the New Purchase to found homes and try the perils of the frontier. The weather was warm and the nights cool, so the sleeping in the open air was pleasant, and the days passed without their experiencing any of the accidents so common to those traveling in a strange country. They had no trouble as to food, for the boys fished every day as they passed along, sometimes meeting shoals of fish so thickly crowded that they could dip them into the boat by a bucket. They had brought corn with them, and when the boat stopped for the night they made a fire and cooked their food and baked their fish, or roasted them on an improvised skewer, until their appetites could crave no more.

At length they reached the spot chosen for a landing, and there found a party of neighbors who had come from their settlements to welcome them and extend whatever assistance might be necessary to fix them in their new home.

The introduction to these neighbors was in the way of helpfulness, for a house was to be built and a start to be made. The neighbors all lived in front of the place selected by Antes for his cabin. Back of it was the stern and steep mountain, thickly covered with virgin forests. Early in the morning he could look over the valley and see the smoke arising from the homes of all who had been brave enough to come into this wilderness. There was a little curiosity as to the friendliness of the neighbors, because all whose cabins were within sight were ostensibly settlers in violation of law. The ground on the south side of the river was not in dispute, but the mountain came so closely to the river that there was little attractiveness to the settler except on such a point as that secured by Antes.

There were not many within immediate reach of the stranger to welcome him, but among these were Samuel Long, the recently appointed constable of the new county, and William McElhattan, who was settled about three miles up the river, and Cleary Campbell, the notoriously lazy man, who was located on the hill above the Great Island, and John Harris, the son of Samuel Harris,

the founder of Harrisburg, who lived across the river from Great Island. There were also James Armstrong, who lived just across from Long Island on the flats, and James Alexander, who had settled on Pine creek, and Alexander Hamilton, who was also on Pine creek, and Simon Cool, who occupied the place once held by Larry Burt, the Indian trader, at the mouth of Larry's creek. Besides these there was Campbell, from Bald Eagle creek, and Tourney, the Frenchman, and Antoine White, the Catholic, and Nathaniel Davis, the Moravian from Quenischachchicki. These men were the outlying guards of civilization. They welcomed the coming strangers and helped them put up their cabins, and formed the backwoods communities. Alexander Hamilton was not only one of the nearest of the neighbors, but one of the most useful. He had within the shelter of his own cabin eight sons and one daughter. The coming of other children to the community would afford them the society which they naturally craved. Tourney, the Frenchman, and White, the Catholic, had little children, which kept the mothers at home, but they could sympathize with the strangers, for before the leaves of the trees were colored by the October frosts, there came a little daughter into the Antes fold.

The Antes homestead, at Falckner Swamp, was built in the old Dutch style of architecture. The lower part was of stone and the upper part of wood, with the sides projecting. There were large gables to the house, and plenty of room and comfort. But in the wilderness the most ordinary shelter of logs, with one story and a loft, had to do for a home, the one story being divided into two rooms, and serving all the purposes of the most extensive mansion. The furniture was all hand made, and very little at that. There were no stoves and no window glass; by a steep ladder the boys found access to the loft.

Alexander Hamilton was the genius of the neighborhood, and was equally familiar with all the tools required for the work of putting up a house, a piece of furniture or an implement to cultivate the soil. When he was at a building, the women knew that the household requirements would be started right. But in this case he had to do for one who was as great a genius as himself. The Antes family were by nature mechanics, and Antes was by trade a wheelwright, which included everything, from

making spinning wheels for the cabin housewife to the building of mills for grinding grain or cutting timber.

There were three stages in the work of putting up a cabin. The first day the architect selected the timber in the woods suitable for the dwelling, and it was cut down and drawn to the place intended for the cabin. The second day the house was put together and covered with the roof. The third day the window frames and doors were put in, and the table and chairs, or stools, made. Then the neighbors had a festive jollification and feast, in which they showed their love of pleasure and gave the opportunity to the young people to show their rivalry in contests of strength and skill. Then began in earnest the every day work of making the home.

Some two miles away, on the banks of Pine creek, was a long, level spot, from which all traces of trees had long ago disappeared, and which was now covered with high grass. It was where the Indians had built their town before the advent of the white man, or the repeated early frosts had destroyed their crops and compelled them to leave the valley for a more favorable location. With this exception, and the few places where settlers had broken the face of the forest, there were woods everywhere. The uniformity was interrupted only by the curling smoke of the cabin fire, and the steady ringing sound of the axe as the settlers encroached more and more upon the wealth of woods. Thus Antes and his boys began their work, for the time was at hand to plant the wheat for the next year's gathering, and in the midst of stumps, where the grain could only be gathered by the knife or the sickle, the first test of their faith was made. When this was done the work of cutting down the trees and making the fields, of building shelter for the horses and the cattle claimed their attention.

The year 1772 was full of events of importance to the people of the frontier. Antes had no sooner put up the buildings to shelter his family than he found it necessary to go down the river to Sunbury, and put himself in proper civil relations with the authorities of the county.

Northumberland county was erected on March 27th, 1772, from parts of Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northampton and Bedford. The first court of the county was held in a small log building near Fort Augusta, and was presided over by Dr. Wil-

liam Plunket. The associate justices were Turbutt Francis, Samuel Hunter, James Potter, William Maclay, John Lowdon, Thomas Lemmon, Ellis Hughes and Benjamin Weiser. William Maclay was the prothonotary and clerk of the several courts. Alexander Hunter was county treasurer, and Walter Clarke, Jonathan Lodge, Peter Hosterman, James Harrison, Nicholas Miller, Jacob Heverling and Samuel Weimer the assessors. Joshua Elder, James Potter, Jesse Lukens and William Schull were appointed to run the boundary line of the county. These were the men who had the making of the county in their hands, and their acquaintance was a desirable matter for the new settler. Besides these, there were the officers of the First and Second Battalions of Pennsylvania Regulars, who, because of services rendered in the previous Indian war, were allowed twenty-four thousand acres of land to be taken up in three tracts on the waters of the Susquehanna and to be divided amongst themselves. This gave them the choice of all the country. One of these tracts was surveyed near Chillisquaque creek, another in Buffalo Valley, and the third on Bald Eagle creek.

On the 16th of June, 1772, the Governor and Council ordered Surveyor General Lukens, assisted by William Maclay, to lay out the town of Sunbury, which was immediately done. Thus when Antes entered Sunbury it was a regularly laid out town, with proper officers of the county, and a number of prominent men who had cast their fortunes in the midst of these almost unbroken wilds. The newcomer was received with cordial welcome, for his name and the prominence of his father and brothers were well known to all those who had to do with the government at Philadelphia.

Whatever may have been the experience of the Antes boys in Fredericktown, or in Germantown, there was much to learn on every hand in this new country. Sometimes neighboring settlers would call at their cabin and the conversation would be on the varied incidents meeting them daily. There would be stories of battles with wild animals, wonderful shots, perils in the flood, size of trees, plans for the next year, and the latest arrivals as settlers. Then the boys would return these visits, and into the attentive ears of their neighbors tell of Philadelphia, Germantown, and the stages that stopped at their inn while on the way to Bethlehem or New York City. They would also

describe their visits to the paper mill that was the property at one time of their grandfather, and the flour mills along Creasam creek, and awaken the astonishment of the neighbor's children, who had never seen anything better than the primitive wilderness methods of turning the grain into flour. But the days were passed quickly when they went out into the forest to select trees to cut down and transport to the side of their cabin and turn into the various uses for which they were adapted. The forest was richly burdened with useful trees, and the boys soon learned how to use them.

There is an old book in three volumes, published in 1795, that gives a description of the trees found in this section of the country and the uses to which they were put. It is quite likely that Henry Antes taught his boys the very facts recorded in this book. We will imagine ourselves in the forest with the father and his two sons, as he points out the different trees and defines their qualities. But we will let the language be Winterbotham's. He first tells us of the beginning of the homestead, clearing the land, then of work and wages, then the trees.

"When a settler fixes on a spot of land which he usually buys, paying for it in gales, his first care is to cut down a few trees to build his log house. A man can cut down and lop from twenty to thirty in a day of the size proper for the purpose. These form the walls of the building. In general the log cabins of this kind are such as half a dozen men will easily finish in three or four days. Ten guineas worth of labor thus employed will lodge a family quite as comfortably as in the better kind of cottages in England. He then proceeds to grub the land, that is, to take up the small trees, shoots and underwood by the roots; these are burnt upon the ground. In a general way this may be contracted for at about twenty shillings an acre. It is generally reckoned to cost usually five days work of a man, to whom, as it is very hard work, the pay is three shillings a day, finding him in victuals and allowing him a dram of whiskey morning and evening. The price of this kind of work varies according to circumstances. Where land is heavily timbered with trees of two or three feet diameter, as it is about the heads of the creeks and on the islands of the Susquehanna, the underwood is in small proportion, but the expense of clearing much greater. The land being grubbed, the trees immediately about the house

are cut down, and for the present another portion is girdled only. This process, destroying the vegetation of the branches, lets in the light and air sufficiently to ensure a crop the next season. The trees cut down are cut into a kind of rail for fences, which are made by laying these pieces angular-wise, one on the top of another, to the height of six or seven in number, much in the same way the logs of a house are laid on each other, but slanting in alternate directions. In new land, after grubbing and girdling, he plows about two inches and a half deep, then across; then sows the seed and harrows it. Upon the average of his land his crop of wheat is not above twelve bushels per acre, of oats from fifteen to thirty. The trees cut down are never rooted up. The value of the land gained will not pay the expense of doing this. They are cut off about eighteen inches to two feet from the ground. The side roots are obstructions to the plow for about two years when they are completely rotted. The expense of clearing heavily timbered land is considerable, sometimes to the amount of five or six pounds to the acre, but the great fertility of this kind of land affords ample recompense. In general, the whole expense is not forty shillings per acre. Part of the expense is met by the sale of the potash obtained in burning the wood. The land surveyors have four pounds per thousand acres for surveying a tract of land and making return of it, but as the owner finds laborers and provisions, these, with other incidental expenses, will make the cost of surveying altogether about twenty shillings per one hundred acres. Planters of any consequence frequently have a small distillery as a part of their establishment. A Mr. White, on the banks of the Susquehanna, near Sunbury, has one which may serve as a specimen of this kind. He has two stills, the one holding sixty and the other one hundred and fifteen gallons. To a bushel and a half of rye, coarsely ground, he adds a gallon of malt and a handful of hops; then he pours on fifteen gallons of hot water, and lets it remain four hours, then adds fifteen gallons and a half more of hot water, making together a barrel of thirty-one gallons and a half; this is fermented with about two quarts of yeast. In summer the fermentation lasts four days, in winter six. Of this wash he puts to the amount of a hogshead in the larger still and draws off about fifteen gallons of weak spirit, which is afterward rectified in the smaller still seldom more than once. One

bushel of rye will produce about eleven quarts of saleable whiskey, which fetches per gallon four shillings and sixpence by the barrel. The prices of produce and labor are, to husbandmen, twenty-five pounds a year with board, washing and lodging; or six dollars a month, or two shillings and sixpence a day in common, and three shillings in harvest time. For mowing an acre there is paid three shillings, finding victuals and a pint of whiskey, or four and sixpence without finding anything else. Women in reaping have as much wages as men, but at hay making only fifteen pence a day and their victuals. The price of wheat is six shillings and sixpence a bushel; maize, three shillings and ninepence; rye, four to five shillings; oats, two to two and sixpence; buckwheat, two shillings and sixpence; salted pork, thirty-three shillings per cwt."

When the cabin was put in proper condition for sheltering the household, Antes took his sons out into the woods to select trees for the various purposes required to make their home comfortable, and to supply the necessities which they had been accustomed to in the home life near Philadelphia. The training Antes had received from his father in the use of tools, involving the nature of woods, was now of good service. He knew just what was wanted and the uses to which it could be put, and this knowledge he taught to his boys. From the top of the hill above the cabin the view of the forests, river, mountain and valley revealed the nature of the soil from the size and quality of the trees. The colors of the leaves and the density of the groves also revealed the presence of streams, or springs, or swamps, or gravelly soil, or rocky bluffs, or dry lands. From this vantage height they saw the groves of similar trees, and also where a stray tree of one kind had crept into the fold of other kinds. Seeing where these strangers were struggling victoriously for an existence, they marked the locality and determined to visit them and see their value from a mechanical standpoint. The lads were not ignorant of trees, or the uses of woods, but the great richness of the supply here captivated them and they formed great plans as to what they would do.

Looking below them at the bed of the creek from where it came out of the mountain gap to the border of the cleared land, they saw a swamp filled with birch, and beech, and elms, and groves of sugar maple. Farther in the gap there was an abun-

dance of oaks, while all along the mountain were huge pines. In the level lands across the river were quantities of walnut and butternut trees. Thus there was the prospect of material for every necessity. The first thing to do was to see that their axes were sharp. Then, when they had partaken of a good breakfast of corn bread and bear's meat, they sallied forth.

The first tree they selected was an elm, the inner rind of which they wanted to make into chair bottoms, because it was stringy and tough, and they also wanted some of the wood for cart wheel naves, because it would not easily split. Near the elm was a sassafras tree, which delighted the boys, for the bark of the root made such a delicious beverage. It was a tonic to the blood and pleasant to the taste. The body of the tree was cut into lengths to make bedsteads, for the wood was not only handsome, but also that bugs had an extreme aversion to the wood and positively declined to harbor about it. Not far from the sassafras was a wild cherry tree, which could not be neglected, for the bark soaked in water furnished a tonic that helped the appetite and restored the declining strength. Moreover, the color, texture and smooth grain of the wood made it possible for its use in cabinet work, such as cupboards and boxes.

As they passed to a soil that was more of the nature of gravel they came to locust trees. These they wanted for posts to make sheds for the protection of their cattle, for they would resist the influences of the soil better than other woods and were easily split into the size and shape they wanted. As the boys sought a spring to quench their thirst they came to some birch trees, and the quantity and size of them suggested the uses to which the Indians put these trees. These men of the forest made dishes and boxes and canoes of the bark of the birch. The peculiarity of this bark was that it would not rot. The wood within it often completely fell away by rotting, but the bark stood entire. The boys remembered that they could split the lamina of the bark and write upon it with the ink they would make from the puff balls found on the scrub oaks. Also the leaves of one variety, and the twigs, too, made an excellent beverage that was even more pleasant than sassafras. When the Indians made canoes of the birch bark they sewed the strips together with the slender tough filaments of spruce and cedar roots and cemented the joints with turpentine from the pine. Soon after they came

to a grove of beech trees, of which they got material for withes and switches. These served them in the place of ropes in many uses about their stables and sleds and carts.

The next time they went tree hunting they looked for the large white pines which so handsomely graced the sides of the mountain. This tree was considered the property of the King, and no one dared cut one down without permission. But that rule was done away with at the beginning of the Revolution. Then the man who owned the ground also owned the trees upon it, and cut down what he pleased. The great pines were the pride of the forests. They rose to a commanding height, and their topmost branches spread out and were visible from a long distance. The wood was soft and spongy and easily worked. It could be made into all kinds of things that any other tree could be used for, and was the favorite tree for boards. The larger trees were cut down and shaped into canoes. Some of them were large enough to hold a score of people. In after years the pines that were in the fields where the grain was sown were cut down and the roots were dug up and placed on edge around the fields, making an impenetrable and durable fence. They were hideous to see, being suggestive of an infinite number of huge serpents in various contortions, their white surface appearing almost ghastly in the bright light of the full moon. Turpentine was made from the pitch pine, which was smaller than the white pine, and much harder in texture. The knots of the pitch pine furnished them with the best of fuel. The boys learned where the old trees, having died and fallen, were rotting away, leaving the knots hard and full of pitch. These they carried to the cabin, and in the evenings, lighting them, were able to see as well and even better than when candles were used. As a fuel the pine knots lasted much longer and gave more heat than the other woods of the forest. In the making of canoes turpentine was essential to calk them and make them water-tight. The boys were soon inducted into the method of making turpentine. It was this: They selected a place that was level, about fifteen feet in diameter, which they raised in the middle and made circular in form, and tramped the clay surface until it was smooth and hard. They cut the wood in long thin pieces and stood them upright in a conical pile, and covered it all over with heavy sod, leaving a hole at the top. Then the wood was set on

fire, and the confined heat melted the resinous juices of the wood, which flowed out into the gutter at the bottom of the pile. It was then put into barrels and was ready for use.

The next time the lads were taken into the woods it was to obtain some spruce to add to the birch and still further improve the quality of the home-made beverage that was perfectly safe for the women and children to drink. When they had carried the branches home, they bowled the young twigs until they could easily strip the bark, and this they sweetened with the molasses made from the sugar maple. They found plenty of alder by the side of the creek, which they turned into charcoal and used to produce an intense heat for melting metals in the blacksmith shop. They found excellent oak trees on the hill side above the creek, which they cut into lengths for barrel staves and buckets which were always needed. In low wet places they found the swamp oak, which was more elastic than that found on dry ground. The lads were pleased when they found some tall straight trees of white ash. They had found so many rattlesnakes in the course of their travels through the woods that they feared being bitten. They knew if they were that the leaves and bark of the white ash was an excellent antidote. Of the body of the tree they made oars for their boats, and frames for their carts, and beams for their plows, and handspikes by which they rolled the logs they had cut. They took the black ash and pounded it with a maul until it was a mass of splints, and these they tied with withes, and thus had excellent brooms, to the delight of the housewife. The chestnut tree they used for staves and headings for casks, and gathered the nuts for food. But the nut they valued most of all was the walnut, with its rich, oily taste, and with it the butternut, and then the hickory nut. The butternut they gathered for their mother as the family doctor. It was a benefit to them all when sick. Out of the bark of the tree she made a decoction that was mild as a purgative, and did not leave the system in a weakened condition; and no family was equipped for sickness without plenty of it on hand. Thus day after day they went into the woods and came home with something new to add to their comfort or their power of subduing the land or mastering the waters.

Once in Philadelphia the lads had seen the great clubs carried by the constables as they watched the safety of the city.

One day the boys came in from the woods, each of them carrying a club made of hickory, which they declared was the proper weapon with which to meet snakes or even bears. If a club could subdue a man, why was it not sufficient to subdue a wild beast? Out of the same hickory they made bows like the Indians carried, and arrows of ash, and strings of the entrails of animals. Thus they prepared themselves for their forest life.

In regard to trees their father said to them: "All woods which grow on high land are more firm and solid and better for timber and fuel than that which grows in swamps. The same is true of that which grows in the open, and that which grows in the thick shade of the forest. The pine is an exception. The wood of trees stripped of their bark in the spring and left to dry standing till they are dead is harder, heavier and stronger, more solid and durable, than that of trees felled in their bark; and that the sappy part of wood without bark is not only stronger than the common but much more so than the heart of wood in bark, though less heavy. This is because trees increase in size by additional coats of new wood which is formed from the running sap between the bark and the old wood. Trees stripped of their bark form none of these new coats, and though they live after the bark is taken off they do not grow. The substance destined to form the new wood, finding itself stopped and obliged to fix in the void places, both of the sap and the heart, augments the solidity and consequently the strength of the wood."

But of all the trees there was none that interested the boys so much as the sugar maple. From this all the sugar they could have for household use must be obtained. Being in the forest and away from the conveniences of civilization did not suppress their love of sweets. The sugar maples were their confectionery stores, and also the supply of sweets for their tea, or coffee, or chocolate, or home-made beer or cider.

When the boys were rambling in the woods they slaked their thirst at springs of purest water, but when they returned to the cabin or to the camp, if they were on a hunting or surveying excursion, they wanted a prepared drink. One of the charming features of home life then, as now, was in the delicacies of the table. The skill of the housewife is often measured by her viands prepared to suit the taste of her family or guests.

Among the notes left by Samuel Wallis is a statement of

the supplies forwarded to John Adlum for the use of his surveying party. This gives us an insight as to the tastes and customs of the people who, in the wild woods, carried the tastes of civilization with them. Among the articles were the following:

Ten barrels of brown sugar, five loaves of loaf sugar, one thousand five hundred pounds of chocolate, ten pounds of Schoshong tea, four barrels of split peas, twelve pounds of coffee.

This, as well as almost every bill of groceries and provisions found among Wallis's papers, indicates that chocolate was then, in this section at least, a more common beverage than tea or coffee. Though a more common drink than either tea or coffee, yet it was not by any means the most common table beverage on the frontier in that era. The great majority of the first settlers were unable to indulge in luxuries, and they soon found many substitutes for imported tea and coffee and chocolate. Store tea and coffee and chocolate, when they were fortunate enough to have a supply, were often kept in reserve, like the silver spoons, best dishes and table cloths, for company. Sage, thyme, peppermint, spicebush, spearmint and wintergreens were among the substitutes for tea, while browned corn, rye, bran, bread, chicory, dandelion roots, chestnuts, beechnuts and peas were among the resources that took the place of coffee and chocolate.

The position of the wife in the frontier cabin was not less important than that of her husband. She was, indeed, his helpmeet. Her duties were to attend, not only to the preparation of the daily food and keeping the home in condition, but also to make the clothing that they wore. She was the milliner, and mantua maker, and dressmaker, and clothier, and weaver, and knitter, and tailor, and hatter, and manufacturer of staple goods from the first condition of raw material. In every cabin there was the distaff and the spinning wheel. The evenings were not spent in idleness, but while the room was lighted by the flames from the pine knots the spinning wheel sung its buzzing song, and the loom rapidly changed the yarn into warm and bright cloth.

When a place for a home was selected the wishes of the housewife were consulted. There must be a good piece of dry land that could be leveled and pulverized so that no great lumps or stones would mar its surface, where the flax could be planted early in the spring, so that the plants in growing might have

such a start of the weeds that the latter enemy would be left far behind in the struggle for an existence. Then when the warm days of mid-summer came, the stalks, having reached the right hue, showing just the degree of ripeness to make the best quality of thread, were pulled by hand and the dirt was knocked from the roots and the roots kept evenly together and assorted so as to put the same lengths and the same colors in the same piles. In the meantime a trench had been dug near the creek and running parallel with it, about forty feet long and six feet wide, into which the creek water had been run and left standing until the warm rays of the sun had taken the chilling freshness from it and it had become the pleasure ground of innumerable little polliwogs. Then the stalks of flax were fastened evenly, and with their seed ends down in the water and their whole surface under the water, so that the water would wash them thoroughly, the whole was covered from the glaring beams of the sun. Here it was left for days and weeks until all the mucilaginous matter was swept from the stalks and the fibres could be separated from each other without breaking or in any way injuring the stalks. When this process had reached a satisfactory stage the flax was taken carefully out of the water and loosely and thinly spread on a grassy surface where there would be an evenness of sun that all parts might be affected alike. Here it was turned over when ready, until it became properly whitened and ready for the next stage of preparation, when it was subjected to pounding with a mallet across the fibre, thus separating the useless woody part or the core from the harle, or bark, which was the flax. The scutching, as this process was called, had to be done carefully so as to keep all parts in the same condition. When the flax was thus prepared, the quality of it depended upon the care and skill that had been exercised from the beginning. Thus the housewife felt a pride in the success that attended her exertions. As in the most primitive times, a rod of wood about ten inches in length, rounded and tapering toward both ends, with a notch at the upper extremity and a perforated disc in the middle, was now used to gather the yarn as the spinning was done. The spindle, and flier, and bobbin were valuable implements, and as the mother used the foot treadle and with both hands worked two spindles simultaneously, one in her right hand and one in her left, she aroused the ad-

miration of the husband, who, through with the work out of doors, was resting and watching the roll of yarn grow larger and larger. Those were the days when the people who met in the grove for worship, or at the village store for barter, or by the liberty pole to express their political sentiments, wore homespun, and thus by the clothing of the members of her household the housewife gained a reputation in the public eye by an evidence that was beyond cavil and dispute. In the appearance of her family, Sophia Antes had no occasion to be ashamed.

The following quotation from the history of Montgomery county will add interest to our study of the life of the early settlers:

“From the force of circumstances the early settlers were generally compelled to lead what would now be considered a rugged and laborious life. To clear the land and bring it under tillage and to provide comfortable buildings against the inclemencies of the seasons must have required considerable effort. Roads had to be opened, streams bridged, or made passable, so as to allow of communication with the mill, the market or the metropolis. Toil alone could accomplish this, but continued toil would not content man with his condition. A change would bring recreation which leads to amusement or diversion. The latter, when properly pursued and directed, must lead to enjoyment. Our ancestors had their sports and pastimes to vary the monotony of existence, though they may have been few and rude, yet they were adapted to their condition and unquestionably gave them pleasure. Among the sports of the past, the fox-hunt figured prominently. This animal, it appears, was tolerably abundant and often destructive to lambs and poultry in general. From the minutes of the County Commissioners we ascertain, under date of July 27th, 1719, that it is ‘Ordered that the treasurer reserve and keep in his hands out of the present tax the sum of fifty pounds, to be applied as the law directs for wolves and foxes heads.’ Peter Matson, who resided at Matson’s Ford (now West Conshohocken) during the Revolution, was an inveterate fox hunter, who kept a number of hounds for this purpose and gave considerable time in their pursuit. Dr. Archibald McClean, of Horsham, also kept his hounds and was addicted to this sport.”

Nearly all kinds of labor would be frequently performed

and lightened through 'frolics' in which nearly the whole neighborhood would be invited to join. Thus they had their grubbing, house-raising, log-rollings, wood-choppings, flax-pullings, corn-huskings, apple-cuttings, apple butter boilings, quiltings and other gatherings which tended to encourage and enliven intercourse. Shad and herring fishing in the rivers gave them both food and sport. The pursuit of the deer, the wolf, the bear, the turkey and the pheasant also gave them diversion. Raccoon and possum hunting by moonlight were not neglected, and at times in the spring and fall wild pigeons were captured in nets in great numbers. All these tended to divert and were looked upon as sport and pastime from the general labors of the farm or workshop. Even in the gloomy hours of the Revolution, when contending armies would occasionally meet in conflict within the territory of our present county, recreation was not entirely forgotten from the numerous incidents that tradition has preserved. Dr. Benjamin Rush, in his biographical sketch of Mrs. Ferguson, of Graeme Park, mentions that she was fond of spinning flax and thread for linen, as was the common custom. For one of those occasions of rustic simplicity and merry-making, a neighboring spinning frolic, she was requested to compose a song, which was duly furnished and became popular. This was copied by the writer many years ago from her manuscripts. She mentions that it was the custom of the owner of the flax to distribute a hand or a dozen of the cuts apiece among the young women of the neighborhood, which they would spin and reel at their homes, and on an appointed day return to his house. Here they were provided with refreshments and a supper, when in the evening the young men joined them. Here is the song:

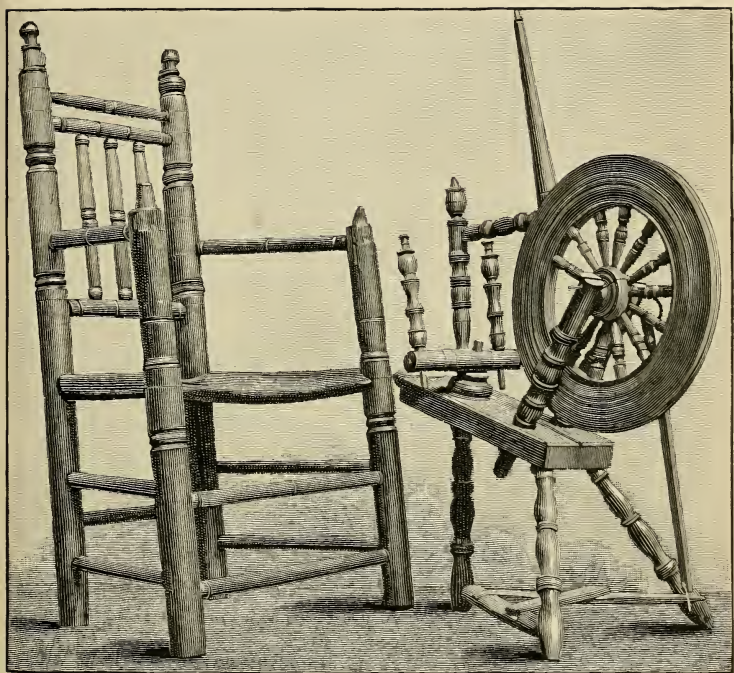
"THE PENNSYLVANIA SPINNER'S SONG.

Since Fate has ordained us these rural abodes,
Far distant from honor and fortune's high roads,
Let us cheerfully pass through life's innocent vale,
Nor look up to the mountain since fixed in the dale;
When storms rage the forest and mighty trees fall,
The low shrub is sheltered that clings to the wall.
So let our wheels and reels go merrily round,
While health, peace and virtue among us are found.

Tho' the great deem us little and do us despise,
Let them know it is wise to make little suffice.
In this we will teach them, altho' they are great,
It is always true wisdom to bend to our fate;
For tho' King or Congress should carry the day,
We farmers and spinners at least must obey.
Then let our wheels and reels go merrily round,
While health, peace and virtue among us are found.

Our flax has its beauties, an elegant green,
When it shoots from the earth enamels the scene;
When broken and moistened in filaments fine,
Our maidens they draw the flexible line;
Some fine as a cobweb, while others more coarse,
To wear but of week days, of substance and force.
Then let our wheels and reels go merrily 'round,
While health, peace and virtue among us are found.

Since all here assembled to card and to spin,
Then, girls, be nimble, and quickly begin
To help Neighbor Friendly, and when we have done
The boys they shall join us at set of the sun;
Perhaps as brisk partners shall lead us thro' life,
And the dance of the night end in husband and wife.
So let our wheels and reels go merrily round,
While health, peace and virtue among us are found."



Grandmother's Spinning Wheel.

CHAPTER XXII.

HOME LIFE OF THE SETTLERS.

AT THIS day when there are so many aspirants for public favor, in picturing the daily living of our ancestors there is a tendency to win applause by throwing the glamor of the refinement of to-day over the nakedness of that time. Too often it is beautiful reading but it is not history.

In order to avoid that result, let us look at the daily life of the settlers as depicted by one who was among them, and one of them, and has given his observations simply to convey to his readers the truth concerning his neighbors. The writer, to whom we will now attend, is the Reverend Samuel Doddridge, whose notes are pronounced by Hon. Theodore Roosevelt to be the best and most reliable of all books on this subject.

Hunting.—It was no uncommon thing for families to live several months without a mouthful of bread. It frequently happened that there was no breakfast until it was obtained from the woods. Fur and peltry were the people's money. They had nothing else to give in exchange for rifles, salt, and iron on the other side of the mountains. The fall and early part of the winter was the season for hunting deer, and the whole of the winter, including part of the spring, for bears and fur-skinned animals. It was a customary saying that fur is good during every month in the name of which the letter R occurs. The class of hunters with whom I was best acquainted were those whose hunting ranges were on the eastern side of the river, and at the distance of eight or nine miles from it. As soon as the leaves were pretty well down and the weather became rainy, accompanied with light snows, these men, after acting the part of husbandmen so far as the state of warfare permitted them to do so, soon began to feel that they were hunters. They became uneasy at home. Everything about them became disagreeable. The house was too warm. The feather bed too soft, and even the good wife was not thought, for the time being, a proper com-

panion. The mind of the hunter was wholly occupied with the camp and chase. I have often seen them get up early in the morning at this season, walk hastily out, and look anxiously to the woods and snuff the autumnal winds with the highest rapture, then return into the house and cast a quick and attentive look at the rifle, which was always suspended to a joist by a couple of buck horns, or little forks. His hunting dog, understanding the intentions of his master, would wag his tail and by every blandishment in his power express his readiness to accompany him to the woods.

A day was soon appointed for the march of the little cavalcade to the camp. Two or three horses furnished with pack-saddles were loaded with flour, Indian meal, blankets and everything else requisite for the use of the hunter. A hunting camp, or what was called a half-faced cabin, was of the following form: The back part of it was sometimes a large log; at the distance of eight or ten feet from this two stakes were set in the ground a few inches apart, and at the distance of eight or ten feet from these two more, to receive the ends of the poles for the sides of the camp. The whole slope of the roof was from the front to the back. The covering was made of slabs, skins or blankets, or, if in the spring of the year, the bark of hickory or ash trees. The front was entirely open. The fire was built directly before this opening. The cracks between the logs were filled with moss. Dry leaves served for a bed. It is thus that a couple of men in a few hours will construct for themselves a temporary but comfortable defense from the inclemencies of the weather. A little more pains would have made a hunting camp a defense against the Indians. A cabin, ten feet square, bullet proof and furnished with port holes, would have enabled two or three hunters to hold twenty Indians at bay for any length of time. But this precaution, I believe, was never attended to; hence the hunters were often surprised and killed in their camps. The site for the camp was selected with all the sagacity of the woodsman, so as to have it sheltered by the surrounding hills from every wind, but more especially from those of the north and west.

Hunting was not a mere rambling in pursuit of game, in which there was nothing of skill and calculation; on the contrary, the hunter, before he set out in the morning, was informed by the state of the weather in what situation he might reasonably

expect to meet with his game—whether on the bottom, sides or tops of the hills. In stormy weather the deer always seek the most sheltered places, and the leeward side of the hills. In rainy weather, in which there is not much wind, they keep in the open woods on the highest ground. In every situation it was requisite for the hunter to ascertain the course of the wind, so as to get the leeward of the game. This he affected by putting his finger in his mouth and holding it there until it became warm, then holding it above his head; the side which first becomes cold shows which way the wind blows. As it was requisite, too, for the hunter to know the cardinal points, he had only to observe the trees to ascertain them. The bark of an aged tree is thicker and much rougher on the north than on the south side. The same thing may be said of the moss. It is much thicker and stronger on the north side than on the south side of the trees.

The whole business of the hunter consists in a succession of intrigues. From morning till night he is on the alert to gain the wind of his game, and approach them without being discovered. If he succeeds in killing a deer, he skins it and hangs it up out of the reach of the wolves, and immediately resumes the chase till the close of the evening, when he bends his course towards the camp. When he arrives there he kindles up his fire, and, together with his fellow hunter, cooks his supper. The supper finished, the adventures of the day furnish the tales for the evening. The spike buck, the two and three pronged buck figure through their anecdotes with great advantage. After hunting awhile on the same ground, the hunters become acquainted with nearly all the gangs of deer within their range, so as to know each flock of them when they see them. Often some old buck, by the means of his superior sagacity and watchfulness, saves his little gang from the hunter's skill by giving timely notice of his approach. The cunning of the hunter and that of the old buck are staked against each other, and it frequently happens that at the close of the hunting season the old fellow is left the free, uninjured tenant of his forest. Many of the hunters rest from their labors on the Sabbath day; some from a motive of piety; others say that whenever they hunt on Sunday they are sure to have bad luck all the rest of the week.

The House Warming.—A spot was selected on a piece of land of one of the parents for their habitation. A day was ap-

pointed shortly after their marriage for commencing the work of building the cabin. The fatigue party consisted of choppers, whose business it was to fell the trees and cut them off at proper lengths. A man with a team for hauling them to the place and arranging them, properly assorted, at the sides and ends of the building; a carpenter, if such he might be called, whose business it was to search the woods for a proper tree for making clapboards for the roof. The tree for this purpose must be straight-grained, and from three to four feet in diameter. The boards were split four feet long, with a large frow, and as wide as the timber would allow; they were used without planing or shaving. Another division were employed in getting puncheons for the floor of the cabin; this was done by splitting trees about eighteen inches in diameter, and hewing the face of them with a broad-axe. They were half the length of the floor they were intended to make. The materials for the cabin were mostly prepared on the first day, and sometimes the foundation laid in the evening. The second day was allotted for the raising. In the morning of the next day the neighbors collected for the raising. The first thing to be done was the election of four corner men, whose business it was to notch and place the logs. The rest of the company furnished them with the timbers. In the meantime the boards and puncheons were collecting for the floor and roof, so that by the time the cabin was a few rounds high the sleepers and floor began to be laid. The door was made by sawing or cutting the logs in one side so as to make an opening about three feet wide. This opening was secured by upright pieces of timber about three inches thick, through which holes were bored into the ends of the logs for the purpose of pinning them fast. A similar opening, but wider, was made at the end for the chimney. This was built of logs, and made large, to admit of a back and jambs of stone. At the square, two end logs projected a foot or eighteen inches beyond the walls to receive the butting poles, as they were called, against which the ends of the first row of clapboards were supported. The roof was formed by making the end logs shorter, until a single log formed the comb of the roof; on these logs the clapboards were placed, the ranges of them lapping some distance over those next below them, and kept in their places by logs placed at proper distances upon them. The roof, and sometimes the floor, were furnished on the same day

as the raising. A third day was commonly spent by a few carpenters in leveling off the floor, making a clapboard door and a table. This last was made of a split slab and supported by four round legs set in augur holes. Some three-legged stools were made in the same manner. Some pins stuck in the logs at the back of the house supported some clapboards which served for shelves for the table furniture. A single fork, placed with its lower end in a hole in the floor and the upper end fastened to a joist, served for a bedstead, by placing a pole in the fork with one end through a crack between the logs of the wall. This front pole was crossed by a shorter one within the fork, with its outer end through another crack. From the front pole, through a crack between the logs of the end of the house, the boards were put on which formed the bottom of the bed. Sometimes other poles were pinned to the fork a little distance above these for the purpose of supporting the front and foot of the bed, while the walls were the support of its back and head. A few pegs around the walls for the display of the coats of the women and the hunting shirts of the men, and two small forks or buck horns to a joist for the rifle and shot-pouch completed the carpenter work. In the meantime the masons were at work. With the heart pieces of the timber, of which the clapboards were made, they made billets for chunking up the cracks between the logs of the cabin and the chimney; a large bed of mortar was made for daubing up these cracks; a few stones formed the back and jambs of the chimney. The cabin being furnished, the ceremony of house-warming took place before the young couple were permitted to move into it. The house-warming was a dance of a whole night's continuance, made up of relations of the bride and groom, and their neighbors. On the day following the young couple took possession of their new mansion.

Window Glass.—The story of this luxury forms a most interesting episode in our local history. The present century was well advanced before the cost of window glass became low enough to displace the use of oiled paper except among the well-to-do inhabitants. In his autobiography, Tunison Coryell relates that during the year 1803, while he lived in Buffalo Valley, the assessor would count the panes of glass in a house; when the old ladies, upon hearing him approach, would often remove the glass and substitute oiled paper until after the returns were made, in

order to escape the tax, which was very unpopular. The earliest mention of window glass, at least west of the Muncy hills, occurs in an original paper, yet in existence, giving a "Rough plann of the scite of Mr. Samuel Wallis' Mill at Muncy," dated November, 1785, over the name of George Hunter, who was doubtless the architect. The plan is laid down by a scale of eight feet to an inch and describes a building to be twenty by twenty-four feet, evidently a grist mill, though the method of grinding is not mentioned. It was built on Carpenter's Run, not far from the river. Mr. Antes is referred to in a manner that would indicate that he was the mill-wright. The specifications call for two glass windows in the second story and attic. In the appraisalment of the personal property of Samuel Wallis, November 20th, 1798, mention is made of seventy-two panes window glass at 8d; five hundred panes Bull's eye do. at 2d. The Bull's eye may be described as follows: "The panes are not exactly square, though almost seven by seven inches, and from three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness at the edge to three-quarters of an inch at the bull's eye, which was rarely in the middle and which was doubtless the gate in the casting. Though smooth and quite clear the glass is not entirely flat. The color was a pale green, and the concentric rings upon the surface would indicate that it had been flattened by centrifugal force. The edges appear to have been sheared off while still soft."—(J. H. McMinn.)

Mills for Grinding Grain.—The hominy block and hand mills were in general use. The first was made of a large block of wood about three feet long with an excavation burned in one end, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, so that the action of the pestle on the bottom threw the corn up to the sides toward the top of it, from whence it continually fell down into the center. In consequence of this movement the whole mass of the grain was pretty equally subjected to the strokes of the pestle. In the fall of the year, while the Indian corn was soft, the block and pestle did very well for making meal for Johnny-cake and mush, but were rather slow when the corn became hard. The sweep was sometimes used to lessen the toil of pounding grain into meal. This was a pole of some springy, elastic wood, thirty feet long or more; the butt end was placed under the side of a house or a large stump; this pole was supported by two forks placed about one-third of its length from the butt end, so as to

elevate the small end about fifteen feet from the ground; to this was attached, by a large mortice, a piece of sapling about five or six inches in diameter, and eight or ten feet long. The lower end of this was shaped so as to answer for a pestle. A pin of wood was put through it, at a proper height, so that two persons could work at the sweep at once.

A machine still more simple than the mortar and pestle was used for making meal while the corn was too soft to be beaten. It was called a grater. This was a half-circular piece of tin, perforated with a punch from the concave side and nailed by its edges to a block of wood. The ears of corn were rubbed on the rough edge of the holes, while the meal fell through them on the board or block to which the grater was nailed, which being in a slanting direction discharged the meal into a cloth or bowl placed for its reception. This, to be sure, was a slow way of making meal, but necessity has no law.

The hand mill was better than the mortar and grater. It was made of two circular stones, the lowest of which was called the bed stone, the upper one the runner. These were placed in a hoop with a spout for discharging the meal. A staff was let into a hole in the upper surface of the runner near the outer edge, and its upper end through a hole in a board fastened to a joist above, so that two persons could be employed in turning the mill at the same time. The grain was put into the opening in the runner by hand. The first water mills were called tub mills. It was a circular shaft to the lower end of which an horizontal wheel of about four or five feet diameter was attached, the upper end passing through the bed stone and carrying the runner, after the manner of a trundlehead. Instead of bolting cloths, sifters were in general use. They were made of deer skins in the state of parchment, stretched over a hoop and perforated with a hot wire.

The method employed by the natives to bruise a few grains of maize consisted of a flattish sort of stone slightly hollowed out, upon which another stone was used, and by dint of rubbing and pounding, the grains were reduced to a coarse meal. The early white settler improved upon this method by cutting a depression of some depth into the top of a stump and suspending a stone over it from the limb of a tree, which acted as a spring pole, by which means the grain was reduced to meal with some degree of

speed. The descendants of Amariah Sutton distinctly remember such a stump that stood near the site of the present barn of R. J. C. Walker, on the bank of Lycoming creek, which was the family mill a hundred years ago.

Later on coffee mills were occasionally brought into the valley and used for grinding grain, the most notable example being the mill used at Antes' Fort during the construction of the water-power mill, in 1776. Tradition informs us that this coffee mill was kept going day and night, by willing hands relieving the wearied ones from time to time, in order to supply meal to the garrison. The bran was removed by means of a home-made horse hair sieve. After this millstones came to be used; these were cut from selected boulders of conglomerate, such as occur near Ralston, or at times from the hard red sandstone that is found on the Bald Eagle Mountain. These millstones were run by crude, cumbersome cog-gearing, operated by an overshot water wheel. With the millstones came bolting cloth, and each customer had to take his place in turning the bolter to remove the bran before his grist was ready to be taken home.

Previous to the erection of grist mills, the settlers endured serious hardships in obtaining flour for their families. It was a general custom for many years to load up a grist of wheat in a canoe, take it to Grant's Mill, in Dry Valley, about four miles above Northumberland, await their turn for the grain to be ground, and afterward pole up the river home, sometimes a distance of fifty miles. Later on, when bridle paths were cut through the wilderness, grain would be packed on horseback over mountains and through dense forests thirty or forty miles and return. On these occasions the distillery, which was inseparable from the grist mill, would yield its cheer to the assembled inhabitants, and this, with the old-fashioned games, visiting, exchange of news, &c., the time passed pleasantly while the grist was being ground.

Probably the first grist mill erected in the West Branch Valley was by Ludwig Derr, on the present site of Lewisburg. This was about 1770. Grant's Mill, in Dry Valley, may have been the oldest. About 1772 or 1773, John Alwood is said to have erected a grist mill near the present site of Muncy. In 1773 or 1774, Andrew Culbertson settled at the mouth of Mosquito Run and built a grist mill, which was probably destroyed by the In-

dians in 1778. It was rebuilt in 1787, upon the return of the settlers after the Big Runaway. The next mill in point of date was Antes' Mill, built in 1776, and rebuilt in 1790. The next mill was built near the mouth of Lycoming creek, by Robert Martin, before 1789. The Millport mill, in Nippenose Valley, was built in 1816. Muncy Mill was erected by John Alwood in 1772, and was a small log structure, one story high, and had but one run of stone. On June 17th, 1779, the Indians burned all the houses in Muncy Township, and Alwood's mill fell a prey to the flames, but the gearings being secreted were saved and used for the next mill, which was built upon the site of the present five-story structure. Previous to the building of Alwood's mill the people used querns to grind grain. These consisted of rudely rounded stones, slightly hollowed, and were carried from place to place and were a very crude and laborious way in which to make meal. Nearly every family had a block for pounding corn into meal or samp, and this was also a very laborious manner in which to prepare this article of diet, and these rude machines were gladly laid aside when John Alwood's water-power mill was erected, and people came from far and near to see the wonderful invention, bringing upon horseback the grist to be ground, while the owner led the horse and kept a lookout for the savage foe, who lurked behind the bush ready for murder and plunder. In those days the man that built a mill was considered of great importance, and he was, too.

Sickness in the Cabin.—In the larger cities the medical practitioners compounded their own medicines, and attributed mysterious virtues to the few drugs, or formulas, which they received from abroad. Beyond the cities there was not sufficient encouragement for one educated in the healing art to settle and rely for a living upon the people whose homes were so far distant from one another. The housewives learned to rely upon their own judgment in the treating of diseases and the care of the sick. The frequent calls at the homes of the white settlers by Indian squaws made it possible for the whites to learn many little things in common cases, although the Indians did not reveal much of what was known to their people of the virtues of plants for saving the sick. Sometimes there were people peculiarly qualified to discover the effects of plant preparations, and they were called in when the case of sickness got beyond the

control of the housewife. Such a one was Mrs. Claudius Boatman, who removed with her husband and family near Derr's Landing to a place up Pine creek, in 1786. She was a large, fleshy woman, weighing more than two hundred pounds, but she was the only one at that time on the frontier of the West Branch that could be called a physician, and her knowledge was entirely the result of her observations and experiments.

It was a dreadful day in a household when the physician was sent for. It indicated that the loving friends so anxiously watching by the sufferer could do no more in the way of healing. Often at this time the disease had progressed so far that death was assured, the treatment of the physician being heroic, and failing because of the lack of strength on the part of the patient to endure farther. Cupping and leeching was then universal, and mercurial compounds were given until the lips turned blue and the gums fell away from the teeth. It was the universal rule in the spring that the blood must be purified, the bowels purged, the kidneys excited and the system emptied of bile. Children early learned to hate the remedies given them, and only when too weak to resist would come under the prescribed treatment.

On the frontier the diseases were different from those to which the refined society of the present day are liable. Then the people lived out of doors. They had no glass in their windows. They did not have the dainties to tempt the appetite that are now almost universal. They were extremely active, both in hunting and in farming. Fevers were common, and the streams were lined with fever-breeding vapors. They drank from springs and streams wherever they came to them. They knew nothing of the germs of disease, such as microbes, bacteria, bacilla, etc.

Small-pox was prevalent, and at times swept away large numbers. In Philadelphia the dreaded scourge was yellow fever. Surgery was rough and poor, and yet accidents were common. There were accidents from falling trees, and contests with wild animals, and wounds from conflicts with their fellow men. The most important service was that of a mid-wife, and even in this they often had to do the best they could without any of the resources of modern skill. They had no anesthetics. Extracting a tooth that had ceased to be endurable was a severe and painful operation. To allow the body to get out of condition in

any respect was a misfortune. If they were careless of the demands of the body they suffered the consequences. Thus, with all their seeming exposure, they were not indifferent to observance of the laws of nature.

In every cabin there were stored in the loft bundles of choice herbs which the housewife prized for their remedial virtues. Some of these were flowering plants from the garden; some were gathered from the swamps; some were eagerly searched for among the rocks on the tops of the mountains; some were brought from afar by those who had been to the city and had obtained them from incoming vessels, or from some herb doctor famous for his successful cures.

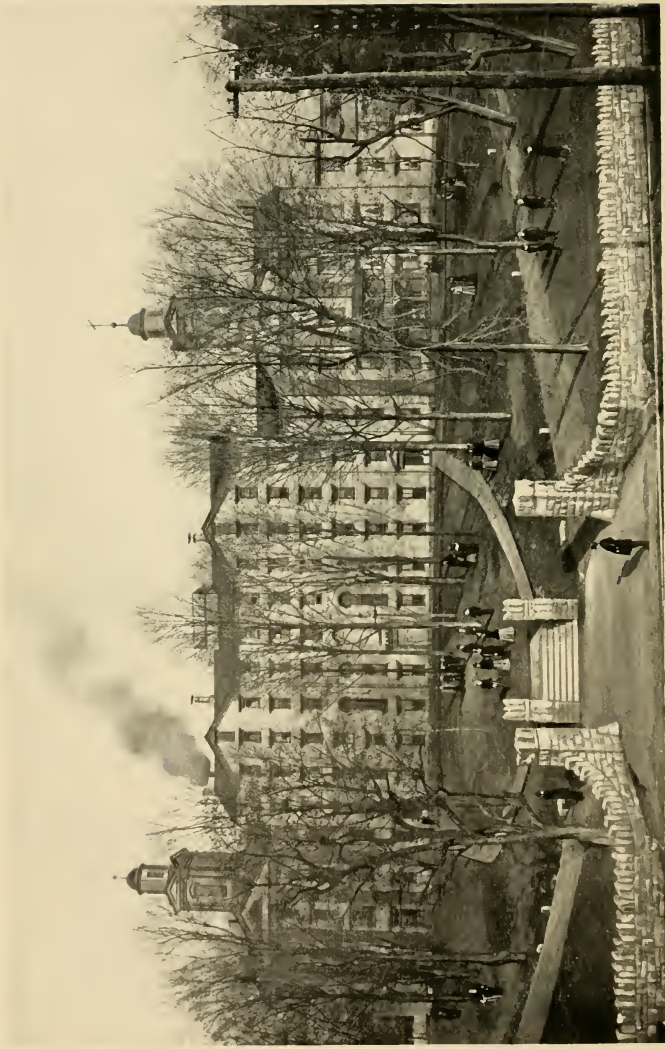
The Pioneer Preacher.—In the hearts of the bold pioneers who pushed their way into the forests primeval lingered a hereditary inclination toward religious worship. The battling for religious liberty by their fathers in Ireland had shaped their characters, and all the privations, and labor, and danger, and lonesomeness of the frontier life could not eradicate this positive inclination to look to God for His mercies and blessing. On the frontier, individuals acquired reputations for prowess in various direction. And honors were given only when, by successive trials, they had proved their superiority to their fellows. Men were not allowed to possess unchallenged the claim to positions of honor. Thus some were considered as great warriors, others as skillful guides, or bold scouts, or successful hunters. There were mechanics who could build the best houses, and surveyors and boatmen and merchants who were unsurpassed. Some men were skilled in untangling the knots of the land office, and some were masters in the political chess board of the times. With these there came another class who became honored because of their ability in preaching the Gospel.

As early as 1775, Philip V. Fithian preached at the Warrior's Run Church, but the log structure where he called to souls to serve the Lord was consumed by the flames started by the angry Indians. This building was replaced by one close to Fort Freeland, in 1789. It stood on the public highway leading to Muncy, in a lovely grove of forest trees near to a spring of pure cold water. It was a large building, having three entrances on the first floor, and two by which the gallery was reached from the outside. The central aisle and the space before the pulpit

was broad enough to accommodate the tables where the communicants sat. The pulpit was very high, and over the place where the minister stood was the sounding board. At the foot of the pulpit stairs was the clerk's desk. The gallery extended around three sides of the room. Here the Rev. John Bryson preached for many years, beginning in June, 1791. In 1792 Isaac Grier, a classmate of John Bryson, was appointed to missionate in the West Branch Valley. These men were reputed to be profoundly versed in the Greek and Latin languages, and their fame became as great as that of the men who desired to excel in athletics. As they began to tread the bridle paths of the forest to preach the word of God, they gave the message in the plain decisive Calvinism that once planted in the hearts of the people could never be eradicated. These pioneer preachers were strong characters. They did not shirk their work. System and method characterized their preparation. Their sermons were replete with scriptural quotations, and they aimed to commit as much of the Bible to memory as was possible. They were also gifted in prayer, and used burning words in all the eloquence that stirred men's souls. As the pioneer preacher went from cabin to cabin he accepted the fare placed before him, as did any of the hardy settlers, and by this appreciative fellowship won the esteem of those whom he sought to serve.

At the first the meetings would be in the log cabin of the one who invited him to accept of his hospitality. The neighbors were invited to come in, and they accepted the opportunity to meet the stranger and later on the chosen friend. The men came with rifles and dogs as if they were only hunters; the women came in their homespun, and wept with joy in hearing the words that went straight to their hearts, giving them the proclamation of grace and glory. The stately rhythm of Psalm tunes, the words lined out by the preacher, arose from every tongue and the forests became vocal with reverberations of praise.

But the log cabins were too small to contain the people, and the meetings were held in the woods, under the protecting shade of giant oaks of the forest, and the hearts of the worshippers thrilled with enthusiasm as they learned that in this way their forefathers in Ireland, Scotland, England and in the Waldensian Mountains had worshipped God.



CENTRAL BUREAU OF ENG N. Y.

WILLIAMSFORT DICKINSON SEMINARY.

Every meeting for worship was a camp-meeting. Because of the length of the circuit, the itinerating minister could waste no time in the follies of merely social delight. There were funeral sermons to be preached, in memory of those who had died, and births to be honored by the consecration of the children to the Lord, and baptism of those who had changed the tenor of their lives, and communion for those in the church. There were children to be catechized and instruction to be given. There were prayers to be offered that would touch the hearts of the people, as also to find acceptance at the throne of grace, and sermons to be preached that would teach the people the way of life and refute the arguments of the infidel and careless. The work of the minister was arduous and solemn, and his priestly character touched the hearts of the settlers, and brought to the surface the noblest and the best that was within them. The preacher, like Paul, worked with his own hands. He, too, was a settler, and had trees to cut down, and stumps to take out, and lands to till, and more than this, he became school teacher, and attracted to his home the young people who desired education in the broader sense and reached out to the fields of learning. The preacher had the learning in his head and the fire in his heart, and in his career duty to God went hand in hand with love to his fellow men. Thus all men saw in his life that he was a man called of God and set apart by the Holy Spirit to turn men from death to life.

The Antes family were just as religious as their Scotch-Irish Presbyterian neighbors. The daily family worship of the Moravian system and the Reformed Church had left a mark upon every one of them, and from their cabin by the Susquehanna the songs of the church ascended at the beginning and close of every day. Henry Antes, the eldest son of Col. Antes, was such an intense adherent to the faith of the Reformed Church, that when his brother Philip became an ardent Methodist a breach was caused between them that was not healed for many years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EARLY METHODS OF TRANSPORTATION.

IT MAY be difficult for us to imagine a period so recent in our thriving country when there were no railroads nor steam vessels, nor any of the various tools and implements which these modes of transportation have called into existence. Yet to understand the life of the men of that early day, when our country was still under the rule of England, we must conceive of them making their own tools and providing their own helps in all the affairs of life. At that time the greater part of their traveling with burdens was done in the winter, because of the comparative ease with which burdens could be hauled over the snow and the streams could be crossed on the ice. There were no roads, only paths. At first these were only wide enough for the Indian to meander his way through the woods. There was no cutting down of trees to make the traveling easier, but going around those which stood in the way. Then when horses came to be used there was necessarily seeking a wider passage, but this was seriously interfered with by the overhanging branches of the trees and the great knolls at the roots. The forest was so thick and the ground so uneven that the best means of travel was seen to be on the streams, when the waters were deep enough to transport them. In the woods there was an abundance of material for vessels and the ingenuity of man soon devised a way to use the material. The variation in the condition of the streams required vessels or boats to meet these changes, for the trickling rivulet ran into the rushing river.

The Indian began his traveling on the water in a sort of skin tub, which was a skeleton of flexible poles lashed together with roots, withes, bark or any other available material, and covered with the hide of some large animal sewed into shape with the sinews of a deer. These skin boats had the hair left on the outside until it wore off by use. When the boat was taken from the water it was turned over and used as a sheltering tent from

the storms. The skin was generally smoked and greased in order to preserve it as long as possible. This, however, was an Indian mode of traveling and was not adopted by the white men.

The canoe was the usual means of traveling by water, and these boats were constructed with an effort to combine art and efficiency. Lightness, buoyancy and speed were qualities that could not be ignored. These were often made of birch bark, and often a boat would be the rind of one tree ingeniously sewed together with the roots of the tamarack and made water-tight. Under the management of one skilled at it the boat was both graceful and speedy. Canoes were also made of logs, and were then called dug-outs. In making these the Indians usually selected a tree near the stream and built a fire at the roots and burnt it until it fell. Then by burning it, and by their stone implements gouging out the charred portions, they reduced it to the shape desired, both on the inside and the outside. Some of these were made very large so as to carry a great troop of warriors. When the white men settled along the streams they used their axes and chisels and thus soon made boats to suit their purposes. Along the river and the larger streams every settler had his boat or boats, and by this means carried on traffic with the other members of the settlement. Every one in the family learned to manage the canoe. When they went from home and wished to maintain secrecy, as was often the case in the times of Indian troubles, or to preserve their boats from being stolen, they sunk them beneath the stream, and marked the hiding place, until they again wished to use their boat. In this way the Indians, in their raids, were able to cross rivers and pass up or down their waters, having hidden boats at various places where they expected they might be under the necessity of using them.

Sometimes, when families were moving, they lashed canoes together and loaded them with their household effects, and thus passed to their destination. In this manner also the traveling peddler or merchant disposed of his goods. It was quite convenient for Mr. Weitzel to send from his store in Sunbury a floating stock of merchandise from landing to landing, and thus save the people the necessity of going down to the distant town. The canoe was the medium of communication between the settlers, and thus one of the most prominent of the civilizing agencies of that early day.

The batteau was another form of boat, larger than the canoe, and used for carrying larger burdens. It carried generally as much as two tons weight and required three men to manage it. It was made of sawed lumber, and to have them required the building of a saw mill. There was such a mill at Fort Augusta. It was not at all like the saw mills of our day, but was a pit in the ground, over which there was a platform on which the log was placed. Two men above and two men below dragged a long saw, with a handle in each end, up and down, until it passed through the log and produced a piece of timber of the desired thickness. When Fort Augusta was built, the Government used batteaux to transport the material. To do this there were employed forty-eight men, who were called Battoe men. These men were enamored with the country through which they passed and became settlers along the shores of the river.

The Susquehanna has always been a shallow stream except in flood time. This made it an easy way for small boats like the canoe and safe for those who were not skilled in breasting the raging torrents. But there were times when the river lost this placidity and became a current of raging and foaming waters, sweeping away everything that came within its grasp. There was an Indian tradition that a great flood occurred every fourteen years at regular intervals. In these floods, which are not to be classed with the ordinary freshets, the waters rose to a height exceeding that of the usual freshets six or seven feet. The settlers found this tradition to be verified. The first flood that they recorded was in 1744; the second in 1758; the third in 1772. In 1786 occurred the great pumpkin flood. In the Spring of 1800, after a heavy rain of three days and three nights, a deep snow was carried off and thus made a great flood. In August of 1814 was another flood of the same character. Sometimes the flood was in the spring; sometimes in the fall, but the rule seemed to hold good. This was a time when the settlers had to look after their boats and often their buildings, too. In these flood times no small or light craft could bear the force of the stream and all traffic and traveling was for the time suspended.

Then came the skiff, which was a batteau reduced in size to that of a canoe, and adorned with the inventions of men who were seeking easier ways of doing things. To-day, with all the

march of civilization, the usual boat along the Susquehanna is the skiff. It was a Connecticut invention, and like the settlers from that State came to stay.

If the men on the frontier could not have saw mills and thus build batteaux when they had large loads to move, they were not left helpless, for they soon saw a simple and easy way to remove their difficulty. They simply cut down trees of the size they needed and lashed them together and thus made a raft. This could be of any size they wished and would carry all they desired. Then when it had served its purpose it could be used in building a log house, or a fence, or for firewood. As the riches of the forest became better known, and the claims of commerce increased, the settlers cut down great trees and lashing them together floated them down the river until they came to the avenues of manufacture that were established by men from the great cities. This was a method of down-the-river transportation. Sometimes the current of the river was too strong for the men in charge of the raft and it would be driven on the rocks and broken apart, causing the loss not only of the raft but also of everything that was upon it, the raftsman being fortunate to escape with his life. The flat boat was used by the settlers where families were conveyed, or farm stock. It was such a boat as has held its place in ferries until this present day. The flat boat has a reputation on large rivers, because it was capable of carrying such great burdens. Moreover the youthful experience of Abraham Lincoln on a flat-boat down the Mississippi has given it a national reputation. Then came the Durham boat, and keel boat, which were pushed by poles up the river, and sometimes forced up against the current by the use of windlasses fastened to trees along the bank of the stream. There were also team boats, and arks. The ark was a short raft, or flat-boat, with a steering horn at one end. They were used to carry flour, etc.

Traveling in the Olden Times.

The foundations of the roads that were ultimately made were the Indian paths over which the red man swiftly trotted, or led his pony, not minding the trees or the rocks which the white man could not so easily surmount. When the white man

began to use these paths, he had to freely use the axe and the grubbing hoe, and widen and level for the huge wagons that were necessary in conveying his goods. The entire household possessions of the Indian could be put in a small load for man, woman or beast to carry, but not so with the white man. His manner of living required the accumulation of many things to make life comfortable, hence one of the first considerations was the nature of the roads, and as prosperity advanced the roads improved until they have reached the breadth, solidity and smoothness such as we see at this day, reaching the climax in the avenues of our large cities.

In the account of Zinzendorf's journey to Wyoming, in 1742, we have a picture of some of the difficulties of early traveling: "We traveled on and soon struck the lovely Susquehanna. Riding along its bank we came to the boundary of Shamokin, a precipitous hill, such as I scarce ever saw. I was reminded by it of Wenzel Neisser's experience in Italy. Anna Nitschman, who is the most courageous of our number, and a heroine, led in the descent. I took the train of her riding habit in my hand to steady me in the saddle. Conrad held to the skirt of my overcoat, and Bohler to Conrad's. In this way we mutually supported each other, and the Saviour assisted us in descending the hill in safety."

Near Montoursville, the place is described as follows: "The Sachem pointed out the ford over the Susquehanna. The river here is much broader than the Delaware, the water beautifully transparent, and were it not for smooth rocks in its bed it would be easily fordable. In crossing we had, therefore, to pull up our horses, and keep a tight rein. The high banks of American rivers render their passage on horseback extremely difficult. To the left of the path, after crossing the river, a large cave in a rocky hill in the wilderness was shown us. From it, the surrounding country and the west branch of the Susquehanna are called Otzinachson, i. e., the "Demon's Den," for here the evil spirits, say the Indians, have their seats and hold their revels.

"The country through which we were now riding, although a wilderness, showed indications of extreme fertility. As soon as we left the path we trod on swampy ground, over which traveling on horseback was altogether impracticable.

We halted half an hour while Conrad rode along the river bank in search of a ford. The foliage of the forest at this season of the year, blending all conceivable shades of green, red and yellow, was truly gorgeous, and lent a richness to the landscape that would have charmed an artist. At times we wound through a continuous growth of diminutive oaks reaching no higher than our horses' girths, in a perfect sea of scarlet, purple and gold, bounded along the horizon by the gigantic evergreens of the forest. During the journey thus far I have not seen any snakes, although the banks of the Susquehanna are said to be the resort of a species which lie on the tops of the low bushes in wait to spring upon the passing traveler. The country generally abounded in reptiles, bears, and other wild animals. Leaving Otstonwakin, our way lay through the forest, over rocks and frightful mountains, and across streams swollen by the recent heavy rains. This was a fatiguing and dangerous journey, and on several occasions we imperiled our lives in fording the creeks which ran with impetuous current."

Mack says: "I once rode out with the Disciple (Zinzen-dorf) and Anna. There was a creek in our way in a swampy piece of ground. Anna and myself led in crossing, and with difficulty succeeded in ascending the farther bank, which was steep and muddy. But the Disciple was less fortunate, for on attempting to land, his horse plunged, broke the girth and his rider rolled off backwards into the water, and the saddle upon him. It required much effort on my part to extricate him, and when I at last had succeeded, he kissed me and said, 'My poor brother! I am an endless source of trouble.' Being without change, we were necessitated to dry our clothes at the fire and then brush off the mud. Adventures of this kind befell us more than once."

In Biographical Annals of the West Branch is this account of a road up the Loyalsock: "There seems to have been no wagon road through this or perhaps any other part of Sullivan county at this time, at least no public road. Joseph J. Wallis, who was then the Deputy Surveyor of the first district, had several years before, in 1784, cut out and opened a pack-horse road, to supply himself and men with provisions whilst engaged with his official duties, which path had been somewhat improved by the settlers, but was still by no means a road. It was,

however, the only means of thoroughfare or medium of exchange for the new settlement, and horses and oxen driven tandem were the motive power. To meet the emergency, Mr. Eldred procured three oxen, and belling the leader, learned the others to follow him. With this team he made several trips to and from Muncy, encamping in the woods when night overtook him, and releasing the oxen of their burthen; the green leaves and shrubbery around generally supplied them with sufficient provender before lying down to rest. The scream of the panther and the howl of wolves was often a horrid serenade around him, but the camp fire and bell of the ox deterred those animals from a closer interview, and his dreams were never disturbed by either."

The necessity of a wagon road, however, soon obliged the owners of the unimproved land, as well as the settlers, to have one constructed, and in 1802-3 those thus interested, by subscriptions of money and work, opened up for travel a private thoroughfare from Muncy to Towanda, which was soon thronged with travel. It was for several years the main route for emigrants to western New York from southern Pennsylvania and Maryland, particularly to the Genesee country, which gave it the name of the "Genesee Road." Mr. Eldred, who had erected a log house near it, was soon overrun with applications for lodging, meals and provender for beasts. It was not unfrequent that from twenty to thirty wagons, with moving families, encamped around him, and eagerly bought such supplies as he had. What could be done to provide accommodations? No bricks were to be had in thirty miles, and no lime for stone work in like distance. Timber was plenty, but there were no saw mills to manufacture it into lumber. The only resource seemed to be a log house, and how to build such an one large enough for the apparent need was the problem. The plan of constructing four houses of hewed logs, cornering together and forming the fifth, occurred to him and was adopted. The ground figure of this building was exactly that of a fox and geese board, and whilst on one side of each house the labor and expense of providing the logs were saved, the union forming a fifth resulted as a consequence. The dimensions of each of these four buildings were about eighteen by twenty-four feet and two stories in height, the middle one

eighteen by eighteen and three stories, with a lookout on top. The spring and summer of 1803 were spent in the erection of this castle. Liberty Hall, as it was called, was no doubt properly conducted, but some of the frontier public places were vile places.

In 1810, DeWitt Clinton, with a party, traveled through New York State to investigate a canal route, and thus describes his experience at a typical backwoods tavern: "We found the house, which is kept by one Magie, crowded with noisy, drunken people, and the landlord, wife and son were in the same situation. The house being small and dirty, we took refuge in a room in which were two beds and a weaver's loom, a beaufet and dressers for tea utensils, and furniture, and there we had a very uncomfortable collation. Col. Porter erected his tent and made his fire on the hill, where he was comfortably accommodated with the young gentlemen. I reconnoitered up-stairs; but in passing to the bed, I saw several dirty villainous looking fellows in their bunks and all placed in the same garret. I retreated from the disgusting scene, and left Gen. North, Mr. DeWitt and Mr. Geddes in the undisputed possession of the attic beds. The Commodore and I took possession of the beds below, but previous to this we were assured by an apparently decent girl that they were free from vermin, and that the beds above were well stored with them. Satisfied with these assurances, we prepared ourselves for a comfortable sleep after a fatiguing day. But no sooner were we lodged than our noses were assailed by a thousand villainous smells, meeting our olfactory nerves in all directions, the most potent exhalation arising from boiled pork, which was left close to our heads. Our ears were invaded by a commingled noise of drunken people in an adjacent room, of crickets in the hearth, of rats in the walls, of dogs under the beds, by the whizzing of mosquitoes about our heads, and the flying of bats about the room. The women in the house were continually pushing open the door, and pacing the room for plates, and knives, and spoons; and the dogs would avail themselves of such opportunities to come in under our beds. Under these circumstances sleep was impracticable; and, after the family had retired to rest, we heard our companions above rolling about restless in their beds. This we set down to the credit of the

bugs, and we hugged ourselves on our superior comforts. We were, however, soon driven up by the annoyance of vermin. On lighting a candle and examining the beds, we found that we had been assailed by an army of bed bugs, aided by a body of light infantry in the shape of fleas and a regiment of mosquito cavalry. I retreated from the disgusting scene and immediately dressed myself and took refuge in a segar. Leaving the Commodore to his meditations, I went out on the Point. The moon was in its full orb and blaze of unclouded majesty. Here my feelings were not only relieved, but my mind was elevated by the scenery before me. The ground on which I stood was elevated; below me flowed the Oneida river, and on my left the Seneca poured its waters, and uniting together they formed a majestic stream. Flocks of white geese were sporting on the water—a number of boats lying moored to the banks, a white tent erected on the right, enlivened by a blazing fire, an Indian hut on the opposite bank, displaying the red man of the forest and his family preparing for the sports of the day—the bellowing of thousands of frogs in the water, and the roaring of bloodhounds in pursuit of deer and foxes, added to the singularity of the scene. My mind became tranquilized, and I availed myself of a vacant mattress in the tent and enjoyed a comfortable sleep of two hours.”

We can see the evolution of roads from the account of the Lancaster turnpike by Futhey, who says: “The first turnpike in America was built through Chester county. The Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Road Company was chartered April 9, 1792. The road was immediately commenced and was completed in 1794, at a cost of \$465,000, or about \$7,516 per mile. It was formed of three highways between the terminal points, the King’s Highway of Lancaster county being extended thirty-two miles to join the two lower sections which were previously laid out. It was opened to travel in 1795, and at once became a leading thoroughfare between Philadelphia and the West. The travel and transportation of merchandise upon it for many years was enormous. It was lined with public houses, averaging in some parts of its course, in Chester county, one for every mile. At night the yards of these taverns would be filled with teams, the horses standing on each side of the tongue, on which a trough was placed. The teamsters car-

ried their beds with them, and at night spread them on the bar-room floors or in rooms appropriated for that purpose. Some of these public houses were known as stage-taverns, and others as wagon-taverns, the stage-taverns being somewhat more pretentious than the others. It may be observed of these public houses that they were as a rule remarkably well kept, and had a good class of landlords, generally the owners."

Contrast this with the first road in the wilderness. When the New Purchase was consummated, and the people flocking into the new lands were struggling for an existence, the need of a road was manifested by a petition presented to the Court in 1772 to have a road located. In the August session of the Northumberland County Court, the road was authorized, and John Henry Antes and others were appointed to view, and if they saw cause, to lay out a bridle path or trail to the mouth of Bald Eagle creek. They marked out this road thirty-three feet in width. They did not imagine that in a few years it would be a trail of blood. This road followed somewhat the path that Zinzendorf had traveled.

The settlers coming into the new country brought with them such wagons as they had, and adapted to carrying their goods and serving as shelters for their families. We may form an idea of what these wagons were like from the description of those ordered by the Government to be furnished by the counties for an expedition to Pittsburg in 1758-9. The specifications were as follows:

"Each wagon to be fitted in the following manner, viz: With four good strong horses, properly harnessed; the wagon to be complete in everything, large and strong, having a drag chain eleven feet in length, with a hook at each end; a knife for cutting grass, falling axe and shovel, two setts of clouts, and five setts of nails, an iron hoop to the end of every axle-tree, a linen mangoe, a two-gallon keg of tar and oil mixed together, a slip bell, hobbles, two setts of shoes and four setts of shoe nails for each horse; eight setts of spare hames and five setts of hame-strings, a bag to receive their provisions, a spare sett of linch pins, and a hand-screw for every three wagons. The drivers to be able-bodied men, capable of loading and unloading, and assisting one another in case of accident."

De Witt Clinton tells us of the wagons used between Gen-

eva and Albany using five horses, and carrying forty or fifty hundred weight. The rims of the wagons were six inches broad, and one that he saw had rims nine inches broad and used six horses.

But in the new country the river was the great highway. The settlers soon learned to be expert in the management of various kinds of craft, and found a keen delight in the motion on the waters.

The Indians were expert watermen, and the white men could be no less. The Indian had his canoe made of birch bark, or a single tree hollowed out by means of fire and stone axe. The white man, with his superior implements, in a short time could make boats and canoes of patterns to suit his convenience, and of sizes that met his needs. The family uses required only small boats, but traffic needed large ones. The advantage of being a master of transportation was apparent to John Henry Antes, and, with his sons, he soon became one of the most expert of the river merchants. At this time there was comparatively free navigation as far down the river as Middletown, at the mouth of the Swatara. Below this there were rapids and great masses of rocks in the stream that threatened destruction to navigation. Hence the trade between Philadelphia and the West Branch was by way of the Highway to Lancaster, and thence to river at Middletown.

In 1762, David Rittenhouse and Dr. William Smith surveyed and leveled a route for a canal to connect the waters of the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill rivers by means of the Swatara and Tolpehocken creeks. This was a part of an immense plan to connect Lake Erie, the Ohio and the Delaware. It would have made a continuous waterway of 582 miles. The various wars that burst on the country prevented their plan from being carried out. In 1791, however, a company was formed to accomplish it, but the financial distresses of the country caused its failure.

In 1796, a German miller named Krieder built an ark at Huntingdon, on the Juniata, which he freighted with flour, and determined to test the rapids below the mouth of the Swatara. He was successful and safely landed his cargo in the city of Baltimore. This caused a revolution in the carrying business and threatened to divert the entire trade of the interior from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

Owego, in New York State, became the head of the river



The Confluence of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna before Blue Hill.

trade on the North Branch, and from it arks carrying as many as 250 barrels of flour, or salt, carried their loads to Baltimore in ten or twelve days. The ark cost \$75 at Owego, and was sold for about half that at Baltimore. It was impossible for trade to come up the river on account of the rapids, but the lumber was profitable at the lower end of the line. Great rafts were made of logs and floated down the stream until there was a class of men who were noted as raftsmen. It required the establishment of stopping places along the river, hence there came into existence a class of taverns in which all the violence and immorality of the roughest classes from the frontier found vent, aided by the drinking of immoderate quantities of the vilest whisky that could be manufactured.

Above the rapids there was the transportation of goods up the river by poling. This was a slow way and laborious, but a batteau carried safely the large load that was committed to it. In this way families found their way into the wilderness more securely and with less damage than by treading the rough roads along the shore. When the boat stuck fast on a sand bar, or a shoal, the men and women, both, would get into the water and push the boat into deeper water again.

The river shore at Sunbury was an interesting place for observation in those days, for they could see all the craft and learn all the news from the North Branch and from the West Branch, and the streams flowing into them. What the canals and railroads are to our day, the river was to the people of that day. The most wonderful flotilla, however, that was ever seen on the Susquehanna, was that which appeared at Sunbury at the time of the Big Runaway, with Colonel Antes bringing up the rear.

CHAPTER XXIV.

BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION.

IN THE month of July, 1718, William Penn, the founder of the government, which he said was to be a free colony for all mankind, ended his earthly career, and left to his three sons, John, Thomas and Richard, the task of completing his designs. His estates were vast and valuable, but were encumbered with debts. Pennsylvania was governed by them, or by their deputies, until the year 1779, when the entire claims of the Penn family to the soil and jurisdiction of Pennsylvania were purchased by the State Legislature for a hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling. Ridpath, the historian, says: "It is doubtful whether the history of any other colony in the world is touched with so many traits of innocence and truth." At the time of the beginning of the series of troubles to which we need to give our attention, James Hamilton was the Deputy Governor. He received his appointment in 1748. The next year an alarming crisis developed. The peaceful relations with the Indians, which had been inaugurated by William Penn, were broken by the series of wrongs perpetrated upon them from time to time. The fruits of these wrong doings were now about to reveal themselves. Along the borders of the great lakes the French improved every opportunity to win the Indians and separate them from the English. They soon won over the Shawanese, and the Delawares were nursing their injured feelings and only waiting for a favorable opportunity to unite with them. At the Indian confederacy in the region between the lakes and the rivers, the Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas were wavering. The French were aggressive, and were building a line of forts on the strong points from the lakes down the Ohio.

It was found to be necessary to make many presents to the Indians and show a constant interest in them, and at the same time to construct forts along the frontier, and to maintain a military force to man these forts and to protect the ground between

them. All this required a heavy expenditure of money, and raising this caused the complications that finally changed the entire form of government. It is an interesting review to see how, under varied conditions, the same spirit of independence and equality operated in the development of the social and political life of the people. Dr. Benjamin Franklin was the leader in the Assembly, and was rising to a position of great power by his uncommon shrewdness and mental force. He was one of the people, and represented the needs and thoughts of the people. His identity with them can be seen in the nature of the books he produced, such as "Poor Richard's Almanac," &c. He has been called the many sided Franklin. This is true of him, because he was capable of representing every class of people and to be in sympathy with the poor man in his hut, the frontiersman in his cabin, and the courtly lords and ladies in the salons of the European Capitals.

In Pennsylvania there were the aristocratic Englishmen of the Governor's Court, and the Quakers, who were strongly averse to such fantastic displays as the social elegance of the authorities called for. There were also the sturdy Germans rapidly settling in the best farm lands and resenting the sneers of the more stylish English-speaking classes. The Quakers, and Dunkards, and Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders, with pacific principles, had little sympathy with the methods of the authorities and prudently kept themselves aloof from public affairs and attended to the development of their farms and shops.

To meet the expenses incurred the people were taxed, and herein lay the foundation for strife. The Proprietaries were willing that the common people should be taxed, but wished to evade it themselves. Through their Deputies they refused and pleaded prerogative, charter and law; the Assembly pleaded in turn equity, common danger and common benefit requiring a common expense. The Proprietaries offered bounties in lands which were still in the possession of the Indians, and the privilege of issuing more paper money. This did not satisfy the people; they wanted something more tangible. The Assembly passed laws laying taxes and granting supplies, but annexed conditions which the Governor opposed. While these disputes were being indulged the danger on the frontier was increasing and the people were helpless.

Concerning the contest between the Assembly and the Gov-

ernor, and the defences of the Province, Charles J. Stille writes as follows in the 1896 vol. of "The Pennsylvania Magazine:"

"These volumes (The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania) embody the result of the investigations of a Commission appointed by the Governor * * providing for ascertaining the sites of the Provincial forts. * * * They are valuable not only because they tell us why the Provincial map of the State along the Blue Mountains and on the frontier farther westward is dotted with fortified posts to secure easy eligible position, and because they tell us what service these posts rendered, but also because they refute the commonly received opinion that the Quakers, who were supposed to have held a majority in the Assembly prior to the Revolution, refused to erect forts or raise troops for the defence of the inhabitants of the frontier against the hostile French and Indians. * * * It would appear from these volumes that, so far from the Province having been defenceless during the French and Indian wars, that there were erected during the campaigns of 1755-58, and that of 1763 (Pontiac's war), no less than two hundred and seven forts, large and small, on the frontier, by the order and at the expense of the Assembly of the Province, and that these were garrisoned by troops in its pay."

This statement is so greatly at variance with that made in a petition presented in 1756 to the English Board of Trade, and signed by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Philadelphia, which asserts that the colony was then in a naked and defenceless state, and that it had not armed a single man, nor at the public expense provided a single fortification, that it calls for a careful scrutiny. * * * It will be observed on examining these maps (made by the Commission), that this chain of forts formed two distinct barriers to an enemy coming from the west, the outer one guarding what was the frontier against the French, in 1763, along the east bank of the Ohio (Allegheny) river from Kittanning to the southwestern corner of the State, and the other extending along the Kittatinny Hills, or Blue Mountains, from Easton to the Susquehanna, at Harrisburg. The latter, or interior, line was specially intended to guard against Indian raids. Between the outer or western line and that on the Blue Mountains was another chain of forts, of which the principal were Lowther, at Carlisle, Morris and Franklin, at Shippensburg, Granville, at Lewistown, Shirley and Littleton, at Bedford, and Lou-

doun, in Franklin county. The frontier was thus guarded by these three lines in Pontiac's war in 1763, and, although the posts were in reasonable proximity to each other, it was found impossible, notwithstanding the efforts of their garrisons, to prevent many murders by the Indians of the inhabitants scattered around them. Other colonies beside Pennsylvania were unfortunately in the same condition. Virginia lost more by Indian murders than ourselves, and, with all their efforts, the inhabitants on the New England frontier suffered greatly, as is well known, from scalping Indians.

The Indian war broke out shortly after Braddock's defeat, in July, 1755, and the first murderous raids of the savages occurred at various times from October, 1755, and during the year 1756. The settlements along the Blue Mountains were, as we have said, very much scattered, and the miserable inhabitants fell victims to the merciless savages, even when forts, intended for their protection, were not far distant from their habitations. The hope of their serving as places of refuge to those who were exposed had been one of the chief reasons for their establishment. The forts in this respect do not seem to have answered the expectations of those who erected them. It must not be forgotten that the incursions of the Indians, which were on the most extensive scale, and the most successful, were made at points not far distant from some of the principal forts, the invaders not being deterred by the defence they presented. Thus, the attack upon the Harris party was made at a point not far from Fort Hunter; that upon Gnaddenhutten, near Fort Allen and Fort Norris; and that upon Tulpehocken, at a point near Fort North-kill. At this time the Province had two regiments amounting to eleven hundred men in commission, the one commanded by Dr. Franklin, on the northeastern frontier, and the other by Conrad Weiser, besides a large number of men composing the garrisons of the different posts. The cost of these fortifications on the frontier was said to have been more than eighty thousand pounds, and the equipment and subsistence of the men necessarily a large sum. One reason, perhaps, of the ill success of the Provincial troops in protecting the inhabitants was the want of a proper discipline and training of the soldiers. It was the opinion of those who had had the longest experience in Indian warfare that the troops should not have been cooped up in garrisons, but should have been

employed as rangers, and kept actively engaged in patrolling the exposed districts. The forts formed a barrier, however, which neither the French nor the Indians ever could pass so as to retain a permanent footing to the eastward. They seemed to have failed in accomplishing the end for which they were built, owing to the peculiar mode of warfare adopted by the Indians.

The story of the employment of the Provincial troops and the methods which were adopted to secure money for their pay and subsistence forms one of the most interesting chapters in our Provincial history, and one which embodies, perhaps, more fully than any other the nature and outcome of the perpetual dispute between the Proprietary and the Assembly of the province as to their respective rights and powers in the government of the province. The unexpected result of Braddock's expedition had driven the inhabitants of the province—not merely those on the frontier (at that time hardly more than a hundred miles from the chief city), but also throughout the whole province—into a panic, which demanded efficient and immediate armed protection. A controversy had long existed between the Governor (Morris) and the Assembly on fundamental questions in regard to their respective powers, which it became necessary to settle without delay, in order to ascertain to which of the two departments of government—the executive or the legislative—the power of raising and equipping an army and of providing money for their pay and subsistence belonged. Of course, all parties agreed that something should be done to protect the inhabitants on the frontier, made defenceless by the defeat of Braddock, and the only question between the Governor, supported by the Proprietary party, and those who opposed the measures proposed by him to prevent further incursions of the Indians was, that the Governor proposed that the troops should form a provincial militia, over which the provincial authorities, that is, the Governor and his friends, should have complete control, especially in the appointment of all the officers, and that the money for their pay and equipment should be raised by a tax, from the payment of which the Proprietary estates should be exempted; while their opponents contended that the military force should be composed of volunteers, and that the tax imposed to raise money to support them should be levied upon all the estates in the province, those of the Proprietaries not excepted.

The defeat of Braddock occurred on the 10th of July, 1755.

On the arrival of the news at Philadelphia, the Governor, on July 26th, convened the Assembly. On the second day of the session the Assembly granted an aid to the Crown of fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by a tax upon all the estates in the Province, including those of the Proprietaries. The Governor insisted the latter should be exempt, but the Assembly was obstinate, resting upon its rights under the charter, and insisting that it taxed the Proprietaries estates as private and not as official property. These discussions caused great delay. Various schemes were proposed to induce the Governor to agree to the action of the Assembly, when, on November 22, 1755, the Proprietaries in England having sent word that if the Assembly would refrain from taxing their estates they would make the Province a present of five thousand pounds, the bill granting fifty thousand pounds for the use of the Crown and exempting the Proprietary estates from taxation was at last passed. It would appear, therefore, that the Assembly was perfectly willing to vote a general tax for this purpose, but that the Proprietaries—by far the largest private landholders in the Province—had instructed their Governor not to agree to any laws, no matter how essential to the safety of the Province they might be, by which the returns from their lands might be lessened.

At the same time was passed, "An act for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous of being united for military purposes." This act was also very distasteful to the Governor, who desired that a compulsory militia bill should be enacted, giving him the sole power of the appointment of the officers and of the disbursement of the money provided for military purposes. However, the Assembly persisted, and the Governor was obliged to depend upon such a military force as the Assembly could be induced to give him. We are told in the petition, to which we have referred, of certain members of the Proprietary party in Pennsylvania, which was argued before the Lords of Trade on the 26th of February, 1756, that notwithstanding these acts adopted by the Assembly, "that Pennsylvania is the only one of the Colonies which has not armed a single man, nor at the public expense provided a single fortification to shelter the unhappy inhabitants from the continual inroads of a merciless enemy." This statement is the basis of the old calumny against the Assembly. And yet, on the 3d

of February, 1756, Governor Morris, the deputy and agent of the Penns during the whole course of this dispute, sent a message to the Assembly, in which he says, "that everything possible (of course, by virtue of these acts) had been done for the security of the Province, that a chain of forts and block-houses extending from the River Delaware along the Kittatinny Hills to the Maryland line was then almost complete, that they were placed at the most important passes, at convenient distances, and were all garrisoned with detachments in the pay of the Province, and he believed, in case the officers and men posted in them did their duty, they would prove a protection against such parties as had hitherto appeared on their borders."

And yet the Board of Trade had the hardihood to declare that the measures taken by the Assembly for the defence of the Province were improper, inadequate, and ineffectual! It may be that the persons who signed this petition, when they affixed their names to it, sincerely believed that the state of the Province was so deplorable that it justified the request made in the petition that the Quakers should be disqualified from sitting any longer as members of the Assembly, because they would not vote for warlike measures, but on the 26th of February, 1756, when the Penns, their agents and lawyers in London, must have known that the allegations in the petition had been proved false by the event, it is hard to understand what defence can be made for imposing such absurd falsehoods on the Board of Trade.

The Board, misled by such statements, was forced to conclude "that there was no cause to hope for other measures while the majority of the Assembly consisted of persons whose avowed principles were against military service." This allegation, equally unfounded with that concerning the inadequacy of the measures adopted by the Assembly for the defence of the Province, leads to the inquiry how far the Quakers were concerned in the legislation of the period.

While many Quakers have, as is well known, conscientious scruples against bearing arms for any purpose, yet it is equally well known that on many occasions in the history of the Province they voted, while members of the Assembly, large sums for the "King's" use—that is, for purposes more or less of a military character. At this particular crisis they voted for the

"Supply Bill," granting fifty-five thousand pounds, to supply General Braddock's forces, and the same sum to be expended in provisions for the New York and New England forces under General Shirley, at Crown Point.

Although the Quakers did not hesitate to proclaim their well known principles in regard to war at this time, and although they had a very deep conviction of the wrong done to the Delawares and Shawanese by the Proprietary government, they were not able to induce the Assembly to adopt their views, that body having indefinitely postponed a proposition to delay, at least, a war against these tribes. It is not to be forgotten, too, that it was owing to the kindly intervention and conciliation of these people that peace with the Indians was at last secured. But the conduct of the Quakers, for another reason, deserves credit rather than reproach from those who urged that the Indians should be crushed by force of arms. A number of them voluntarily quitted their seats in the Assembly of 1756. The most scrupulous among them did not desire to be concerned in the war declared by the Governor against the Delawares and the Shawanese, but they were not disposed to obstruct military measures in time of war. Hence a number of them voluntarily gave up their seats in 1756; others requested their friends not to vote for them at the ensuing election, nor did any Quaker stand as a candidate, or request any one to vote for him at that election. Four Quakers were, nevertheless, chosen, but they refused to serve. The result was, that in a House composed of thirty-six members, there were but twelve Quakers, and they held the opinion that the government should be supported in the defence of the country; so that the Quaker majority in the Assembly was then lost, and, it may be added, was never regained. Such is the true story of the line of defence along the Blue Mountains which our fathers established for the protection of those who dwelt on the frontiers. * * * * We trust that we have shown that our fathers did not allow their fellow subjects on the frontier to perish by Indian raids for want of such aid as their money could give them, and that the Quakers, especially, are chargeable with no such cold-blooded cruelty."

Party politics in Pennsylvania in 1764. From *Life of Benjamin Franklin*. At the regular session of the Assembly, in

1764, Governor Penn refused his assent to two bills most essential to the peace of the Province. One of which was an act for raising £50,000 to defray the expense of the coming campaign against the Indians. In accordance with the decision of the King in council, this act laid an equal tax on the located lands of the Province, making no distinction whatever between the estate of the Penns and the lands of the resident owners. The Governor refused to sign this bill unless a distinction was made in favor of the Penn estate, rating its best uncultivated lands at the rate paid by other owners for their worst. Indignation and despair filled the hearts of the liberal majority of the Assembly. The struggle of a generation was still to be renewed. And, when in the very proprietary council, composed of staunch friends of the family and chosen for their attachment to it, it was observed that the old men withdrew themselves, finding their opinion slighted, and that all measures were taken by the advice of two or three young men.

* * * * They, therefore, after a thorough debate and making no less than twenty-five unanimous resolves, expressing the many grievances this Province had long labored under through the Proprietary government, came to the following resolution, viz.: Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that this house will adjourn in order to consult their constituents whether an humble address should be drawn up and submitted to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to take the people of this Province under his immediate protection and government by completing the agreement heretofore made with the first Proprietary for the sale of the Government to the crown, or otherwise, as to his wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.

This adjournment occurred on the 20th of March. Meetings were held in many of the townships, and there was a great signing of petitions in all parts of the Province. When the legislature reassembled, on the 14th of May, three thousand names were found appended to the various petitions for a change of government, and not three hundred to those of a contrary tenor.

There could be no mistaking the desire of the people. After a long and warm debate the resolution to petition the King to convert Pennsylvania into a royal Province was carried by a large majority. The document set forth: That the Proprietary government is weak, unable to support its own authority and maintain the common internal peace of the Province; great riots have

lately arisen therein, armed mobs marching from place to place (Paxton Rangers) and committing violent outrages and insults on the government with impunity, to the great terror of your Majesty's subjects. And these evils are not likely to receive any remedy here, the continual disputes between the Proprietaries and the people, and their mutual jealousies and dislikes preventing. We do, therefore, most humbly pray that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to resume the government of this Province, making such compensation to the Proprietaries for the same as to your Majesty's wisdom and goodness shall appear just and equitable.

The Assembly adjourned early in the summer, not to re-assemble until after the fall elections. Now came the tug of war. All parties seemed to feel that the issues of the next election would either terminate the Proprietary government or give it a new lease of power. Mr. John Dickinson was opposed to a change of government, and published soon after the adjournment the speech he had delivered in the Assembly against the petition to the King. Joseph Galloway published a speech in support of the petition, which Dr. Franklin prefaced with a withering review of the policy of the Proprietaries.

In the election the Old ticket was headed by Franklin and Galloway. Mr. Pettit, of Philadelphia, an Old ticket man, writes to his friend, Joseph Reed, who is in London, as follows: Our late election, which was really a hard fought one, was managed with more decency and good manners than would have been expected from such irritated partisans as appeared as the champions on each side. The Dutch Calvinists and the Presbyterians of both houses, I believe, to a man assisted the New ticket. The Church were divided, and so were the Dutch Lutherans; the Moravians and most of the Quakers were the grand supporters of the Old; the McClenaghanites were divided, though chiefly of the Old side. The poll was opened about nine in the morning the first of October, and the steps so crowded till between eleven and twelve at night that at no time a person could get up in less than a quarter of an hour from his entrance at the bottom, for they could go no faster than the whole column moved. About three in the morning the advocates for the new ticket moved for a close, but (O! fatal mistake!) the Old hands kept it open, as they had a reserve of the aged and lame which could not come in the crowd, and were

called up and brought out in chairs and litters, and some, who needed no help, between three and six o'clock, about 200 voters. As both sides took care to have spies all night, the alarm was given to the New ticket men; horsemen and footmen were immediately despatched to Germantown and elsewhere; and by 9 or 10 o'clock they began to pour in so that after the move for a close seven or eight hundred votes were procured; and about five hundred, or near it, of which were for the New ticket, and they did not close till three of the afternoon, and it took them till one of the next day to count them off.

The New ticket carried all but Harrison and Antes, and Fox and Hughes came in their room; but it is surprising that from upwards of three thousand nine hundred votes they should be so near each other. Mr. Willing and Mr. Bryon were elected Burgesses by a majority of upwards of one hundred votes, though the whole number was about one thousand three hundred. Mr. Franklin died like a philosopher. But Mr. Galloway agonizes in death like a Mortal Deist who has no hopes of a future existence.

* * * * * So Franklin and Galloway were defeated. In a vote of nearly four thousand there was a majority against Dr. Franklin of twenty-five.

But for all this Franklin was not rendered inoperative against the Proprietaries. The very first application to the Assembly for supplies revived the old controversy. It was assured that the estates of the Proprietaries must be taxed, but the dispute was as to the manner and the basis of assessment. The necessities of the Province compelled the Assembly to grant the supplies asked, but the conduct of the Governor so angered the Assembly and their following that the movement to petition the King to purchase the jurisdiction of the Province from the Proprietaries and vest the government directly in the crown, became very popular. Franklin drew up the petition. He set forth in a strong light the increase in the valuation of the property held by them and the accompanying increase of power. He presented in a strong manner the danger of such a third power operating between the people and the crown, able to thwart both, and robbing both, because refusing to bear the burdens belonging to it.

The zeal of Franklin aroused the friends of the Proprietaries, who were not in any sense weaklings, and they put forth a brave effort to hold the people back from the step that clearly fore-

shadowed revolution. The Quakers stood with Franklin. Several successive assemblies also favored his side of the question. Against these were John Dickinson, of whom it may be said there was not a clearer thinker or more able reasoner in the Province; Isaac Norris, the venerable speaker of the Assembly; Rev. Gilbert Tennant, and Rev. Francis Allison, men of great power among the Presbyterians, and William Allen, the Chief Justice, and afterward father-in-law of Governor Penn. The contest was one of great interest among the people, because of the strength, both in character and ability, of the men who were leading both sides of the debate. Dr. Franklin was appointed Provincial Agent to urge the measure before the ministry in London. With high hopes he set sail November 1st, 1764. When he reached London he was horrified to discover that there was no sympathy for his views in the minds of the counsellors of the King. The presentation of the question of the growing wealth of the colonies had attracted their attention and had aroused their cupidity. From this source they saw the means of replenishing their exhausted coffers and of making more valuable the monopolies in trade and manufacture of the interests in which they were personally concerned. In pushing these measures they were contemplating measures that were directly antagonistic to every heart-throb of the Americans. Franklin saw with clearness of vision the result, and put forth all his power to prevent so great a political blunder and calamity. He knew that the temper of his people would not tolerate the method of taxation suggested. But the ministry were deaf to his appeals, and even insulting in their treatment of him.

On the 22d of March, 1765, the stamp act was passed. Then Franklin wrote to his friend, Charles Thompson, in Philadelphia: "The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thompson went farther than Franklin in expression, and expressed the apprehension that other lights would be the consequence. Franklin was anxious to reduce the trouble as far as possible, and secured the appointment of his friend, John Hughes, to the position of stamp officer for Philadelphia. When the vessel bearing Mr. Hughes and the stamps arrived at Philadelphia, in October, 1765, all the vessels in the harbor displayed their flags at half mast, the bells of the city were muffled and thus rung, and thousands of the citizens gathered on the bank of the river, and in great excitement watched the vessel

as it threw out its anchors. The resignation of Mr. Hughes was immediately demanded. This he refused to do, but agreed not to perform the duties of his office at the present time. The next step of the people was to determine that they would not purchase goods manufactured by the English monopolies, but would set up factories of their own. This bold step caused a revulsion of feeling among the masses in England, and they compelled their ministry to recede from its position toward the colonies and repeal the act that had produced the disturbance. This was, however, done so ungraciously that with it the right to tax by Parliament was reaffirmed, and the cause of disturbance was thus continued.

Franklin now had a still greater work to perform. On the 16th of December the news reached England of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. At this time, because of certain letters which Franklin had published, he was made the target for rude and barbarous attacks and insults, which no man but a philosopher could have peacefully endured. Franklin was the mouth-piece of the American people, who were acting so outrageously toward the mother country, and the English people joined with the King and the ministry to show their contempt for these colonial upstarts. A series of measures were rushed through Parliament, opposed by only a few men who were able to see the drift of the times. Lord North introduced and carried through without objection the Boston Port Bill, by which the port of Boston was closed until the King was satisfied of the submission of the rebellious towns, and the East India Company had been indemnified for the tea destroyed. General Gage was appointed Civil Governor, and with four regiments of soldiers was sent to Boston to carry out the provisions of the bill, and to arrest and punish the leaders of the Americans. A second measure was, changing the charter of Massachusetts and destroying the right of town meetings, and placing out of the hands of the people the appointments of members of councils, sheriffs and jurors. This measure was so tyrannical that it was vigorously opposed by Burke, Fox, Conway, and most of the Rockingham Whigs. Some men saw that the results were bound to be evil, and they disputed the measure with all the eloquence at their command. The measure was a revelation to the thinking people of the colonies. In it they saw the danger to their rights and liberties. What was done to Massachusetts might, at the whim of Parliament, be done to any one of them.

They realized the time had come to make common cause for their rights. Thus from every colony there was sent to the men of Massachusetts words of encouragement, and promises of support in the struggle that they must now wage for an existence. Even on the frontier of Pennsylvania the neighbors and companions of Justice Antes listened to the call and heard it as Patrick Henry, in Virginia, heard it, and responded, not by a splendid display of oratory in the Assembly halls, but as plain men, armed themselves with their trusty rifles and what ammunition they could gather, and under the name of Captain Loudon's Riflemen, bade farewell to their wives and children and cabin homes, and marched to Boston to greet with patriotic fervor the newly appointed Commander-in-Chief, George Washington, of Virginia.

But this insult and wrong did not exhaust the power for evil of the English ministry. They passed a measure that any soldier or crown officer indicted for murder, or other capital offence, should be transferred to Nova Scotia, or England, for trial. Another act was the quartering of the English troops on the citizens of Boston. Still another act gave toleration to the Roman Catholics, erected an arbitrary government with boundaries extending to the Ohio, which threatened the territories of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Thus the strong power of Parliament was asserted, and the rights of the colonists were denied. These colonists were not of the material that makes slaves. They were free men with all the vigor and pride of freemen. The threats of the mother nation only served to unite them, and the current of thought was changed from the question of whether the Proprietaries or the Crown should rule them to the conviction that they should be their own rulers.

The one man in America who had a comprehension of the times was Benjamin Franklin. While Washington, an ardent and capable young man, was in the border warfare near the French line of forts on the western frontier, Franklin was grappling with the deepest questions of statesmanship, and framing methods of union and government that would be adopted by the people before his earthly career ended.

The aggressions of the French, and the danger of the Iroquois being alienated from the English, led to a convention meeting in Albany, to see what steps could be taken to unite all the colonies in one body for mutual protection and interest.

On the 10th of July, 1754, Franklin laid before the Commissioners the draft of a federal constitution. He saw that what was needed was a central government, and his quick thought easily framed the plan upon which such a union could be consummated. The Commissioners listened, and were swayed by his words, and adopted his plan. It was then submitted to the colonies before it could be of any account. But it was rejected by all of them, mostly on the ground that too much power was given to the Governor-General. The English Board of Trade also rejected it, on the ground that the Americans were trying to set up a government of their own. In the meantime the French were aggressive, and were winning victories in Western Pennsylvania.

This document of Franklin's should be read side by side with the Articles of Confederation, and thus show how his plans were ultimately grasped by the people. This was at a time when all the colonies were thoroughly loyal to Great Britain. The adoption of this plan of union might have changed the history of the world. The war between France and England lingered on until the 10th of February, 1763, when a treaty of peace was signed at Paris. But while there was peace on the surface, the French never ceased to foment the spirit of dissatisfaction on the part of the colonies with the mother country, and thus sowed seeds of discord that helped open the way for the final separation of the colonies from their mother country. England insisted on a spirit of arbitrary rule that became exceedingly hard to bear. This created friction all along the line, and awakened the ambition of the thoughtful men to secure a government even better than that suggested by Franklin. In 1755, John Adams wrote: "In another century all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us." While people were talking in this way in private, the majority never were ready to declare for independence until war thrust the question upon them.

Finally the treatment the colonies were receiving from the King of England and his counsellors led the calling of the second Colonial Congress, which met in Philadelphia in September, 1774. Eleven colonies were represented. It was unanimously agreed to sustain Massachusetts in her struggle for her rights. Three addresses were sent forth: one to the King, one

to the people of England, and one to the people of Canada. A resolution was adopted recommending the suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the wrongs of the colonies should be redressed. The answer of England was to send a fleet and an army of ten thousand men to subdue the rebels. This was the beginning of the war.

The next Congress of the colonies met in the following May, in Philadelphia. Most of the delegates had been chosen before the battle at Lexington had been fought, and the conditions were entirely altered by the shedding of the blood of the men of Massachusetts. Congress thus became the organ of common resistance to the foe. An army was ordered to be raised and Washington was appointed as the Commander-in-Chief. The phrase "United Colonies," was first used in his commission. At this Congress a continental currency was created, a general treasury and post-office established, and the whole management of Indian affairs was assumed by the Congress.

On June 7th, 1776, a resolution of independence was introduced, which was adopted the 4th of July, and the same day a committee was appointed to prepare articles of confederation, which, however, did not report until November, 1777, and indeed the articles of confederation were not adopted by all the colonies until 1781. During this interim war was being waged with England, and the question of the life of the Colonial Union was suspended in the balance.

CHAPTER XXV.

RUMORS OF WAR.

BEING IN the wilderness and distant from the head-center of public life did not prevent the people from taking an interest in all that concerned the government of the country. If the statesmen of England had understood how the people of the colonies watched every movement with a personal interest, and a feeling that they had the right of participation, they would have moved more carefully in their measures touching the possessions of the colonists. There was a sense of manhood and independence developing in the forests of the colonies that was the true foundation for the liberty and equality that was bound to prevail in this land. There could not by any possibility be reproduced the old forms of English social life, with its distinctions, and its inferior and superior classes. A man felling a tree in the forest realized a sense of manhood that defied the assumptions of those who had more money or more education than himself. As to money he would earn it by the sweat of his face; as to education, he would pay a school-master to give it to his children and place them in the fore-front of progress. Hence these men were alive to everything that called for new conditions, or affected the old conditions of life about them. When the post brought the news, there were crowds of people who had come in their canoes from miles up the river and down the river, to learn the news and discuss it in their own peculiar, forcible way. The boat landing by the mill was their gathering place, and the shore was lined with the boats that represented every settler's home. When the man of the family returned to his home, he found the women and children as eager to learn the news as he had been when he started for the news-center, the landing at the mill.

The visits of strangers were welcomed, because they broke the monotony of the life in solitude, and brought to mind the experiences of the towns, or of the lower country where they

had once lived. The best the house afforded was placed before the stranger, and he soon learned that the special business expected of him was to talk. One popular class of visitors was the peddler with his pack, containing an assortment of every kind, and agents with clocks, both small and family clocks, and tourists from Philadelphia, and occasionally a clergyman on a tour of preaching. Such was Rev. Mr. Fithian, from New Jersey, who found a cordial welcome wherever he stopped, because he was a preacher of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. When he came to the Susquehanna Valley, in 1775, instead of there being but one house in Northumberland, as there had been when Antes came, there was a thriving town with cultured people, and a rivalry existing between it and Sunbury that threatened to have the distinction of the aristocracy on the gentle slopes of the latter town. Here were dwelling Reuben Haines, the proprietor of the town; Mr. McCartney, Mr. Cooke, the Sheriff; Mr. John Barker, a lawyer; Mr. Scull, the Deputy Surveyor General; Mr. Martin, the owner of the tavern, and others. The town was also the resort of a number of boatmen who were employed in going up and down the river to Middletown. Mrs. Scull had a pleasant garden and summer house in it, and her parlor was decorated with handsome oil paintings, and a library that was stocked with the books of the day. Mr. Fithian speaks of a congregation in the woods a few miles up the West Branch from Northumberland as the silk-gowned congregation, because all the ladies wore silk.

At this time there was an increase of excitement pervading the entire country, extending to the remotest frontier, on account of the growing opposition to the rule of England over the colonies. Thirty young men from the West Branch, preceded by a fife and drum, marched down the river to Sunbury, on their way to the seat of war. They were all expert riflemen, under the command of Captain Loudon.

The description of one of the companies of riflemen, commanded by Captain George Nagle, the brother-in-law of Elias Youngman, will give a fair idea of this branch of the Colonial army:

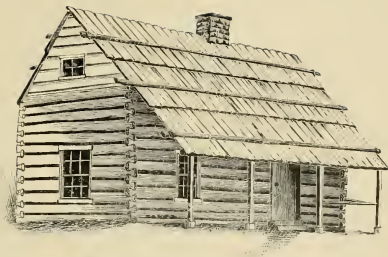
"It consisted of one captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer and sixty-five privates. They are remarkably stout and hardy men, many of them ex-

ceeding six feet in height. They are dressed in white frocks or rifle shirts and round hats. These men are remarkable for the accuracy of their aim, striking a mark with great certainty at two hundred yards distance. At a review, while on a quick advance, a company of them fired their balls into objects of seven inches diameter, at the distance of two hundred and fifty yards. They are now stationed in our lines, and their shots have frequently proved fatal to British officers and soldiers who expose themselves to view, even at more than double the distance of common musket shot. Each man bore a rifle-barreled gun, a tomahawk or small axe, and a long knife, usually called a scalping knife, which served for all purposes in the woods. His underdress, by no means in military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting-shirt, leggins and moccasins, if the latter could be procured. It was the silly fashion of those times for riflemen to ape the manner of savages."

We can be sure that if the West Branch riflemen did not reach Boston as soon as Captain Nagle's men from Reading, they were not behind them in their rustic backwoods accoutrement.

On the 20th of July there was held a Continental Fast, and sermons were preached on the subject of the grave difficulties agitating the country. On the 29th of July, Henry Antes was appointed one of the Judges of Quarter Sessions; the other members appointed at the same time were Samuel Hunter, James Potter, William Maclay, Robert Moodie, John Loudon, Benjamin Weiser and John Simpson. On the 28th of November of this year, by the election of Thomas Wharton, President of the Council of State, the reign of the Penn family ceased forever in Pennsylvania. Henry Antes began his public life under the new regime.

At this time all the houses in Sunbury were built of logs, except the one erected by Mr. Maclay, which was of stone. The residence of Samuel Wallis was the only one along the West Branch that was not built of logs. In this particular there was the most absolute equality of rich and poor. The style of architecture was on one plan, the difference being in the size of the structure. The matter of inside adornment, and the garden surroundings, was different according to the taste or the means of the owners. Mr. Fithian was surprised, not



Settlers Home at Muncy in 1770.



Maclay's House in Sunbury 1773.

only at the number of people who wore silk when they came to the preaching services, but also at the varieties that appeared. In those days one silk gown was expected to last a lifetime, and the dressmaker could not be allowed to cut and alter it to suit any passing styles. There were no Parisian fashion plates to stir the pride of the ladies into the adoption of new modes of dress. As to the men, they found a ready use of the skins of the animals they killed. They had their own way of dressing these skins and transforming them into clothes which were warm and serviceable. Besides, flax was one of the crops that every housewife raised, and out of this spun the thread and made the garments needed by the family. The loom and distaff were in every cabin, and this constituted the greater part of the work of the women indoors. In the Antes cabin young Henry was his father's assistant in the out-of-door work, and Philip served as his mother's helper in the garden and at the loom, while the baby grew and learned to prattle in English the language of the neighborhood, and also in German, the language they loved so well as the language of their home. On the 6th of March, 1775, there came into the Antes household another daughter, whom they named Anna Maria. The increased responsibilities brought with them increased happiness, and drove away the lonesomeness engendered by the dark shadows of the overhanging woods.

We can see the family in the evening, after the work of the day has been done, and the cattle and pigs and fowls are safely housed against the attack of ravenous wild beasts, lying on the floor on bear skins, watching the flickering of the fire in the huge fire place, while the father takes down the prized violin, which was made by his brother John, now a missionary in Egypt, and the whole family join in singing hymns, accompanied by the sweet-voiced instrument. We can imagine the panther in the forest, creeping toward the light of the cabin fire, so softly that not a leaf even is stirred by her tread, and stopping, in amazement, at the strange sounds so different from anything ever heard on mountain or plain. Over the river the sound goes, for the atmosphere is not burdened with thousands of noises such as a great multitude constantly makes, and the little band of Indians camping on the Island, their favorite camping ground, stop their talking and lie still and listen to the me-

ludious sounds. What an instrument, and what a quartette! The man's deep bass, the woman's treble, the tenor of young Henry, and the alto of Philip. Never did the songs of the Moravian faith sound sweeter than here in this lonely mountain outpost of human habitation. When the singing ceased the peace of God rested on the valley.

During this year the courage of the family was put to a severe test. The posts from Philadelphia brought news of the conflicts between the English and the Americans. On the 19th of April the battle of Lexington was fought. On the 9th of May, Ethan Allen captured Fort Ticonderoga, as he said, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" although at that time the Continental Congress was not in existence. It met six hours later than the anticipatory announcement. On the 17th of June came the battle of Bunker Hill, while on the 15th of June, Washington was appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. During the year 1775 the King's authority was overthrown in all the colonies.

The reports of these events spread like wild fire through all sections of the country, and on the frontier men waited with anxiety to hear of the latest step toward freedom. When Captain Louden gathered together the most expert riflemen in the valley and marched to Boston to help General Washington, the frontier was depleted of its best defenders; but patriotism was in the air, and thought of the safety of home was forgotten.

At this time the illegal settlers on the Indian hunting grounds, according to the proclamation of the Governor and Council, should have been arrested and tried before the Court of Quarter Sessions and punished. Henry Antes, their neighbor, was the justice before whom the complaints should be made. Would he order them? But the spirit of patriotism that was in the valley flamed in the hearts of these brave men, and some of them went to the war as heroically as any men in the land. Henry Antes could not think of arresting men of the families who had sent their sons, because of their expertness as riflemen, to the defence of the greater and broader liberties of the land simply to gratify hungry land speculators. Hence the proclamation at this time was a dead letter.

But not so in the lower part of the county in regard to the Connecticut men. There were reports that the men of Wyoming

were coming down the river in force to capture Fort Augusta, and seize the lands along the West Branch. There were men at Northumberland who were not averse to leading the people in battle array, and who were not in sympathy with the revolt against England. Martin had his grudge to fill against the people of Wyoming. Dr. Plunket thirsted for a renewal of military prestige, and the Sheriff was anxious to prove his ability to cope with all the requirements of his position. Hence a military expedition was called for to go up the river and clean out the nest of Connecticut invaders. The call stirred every home in the valley. The spirit of war was in the air. Seven hundred men, the full equipment of the valley, assembled at Fort Augusta for the expedition. Antes shouldered his rifle and went to stand beside the honorable and valiant justice, Dr. Plunket. Samuel Wallis was there with his money to help pay the cost of transportation, as also to give his personal influence. John Brady was there, the representative of one of the bravest families that ever lived on the West Branch. When Dr. Plunket looked over his little army he might well be proud, for the best and the bravest men in the county were at his service. The year was almost at a close when they made their advance, and in the meantime there was anxiety in every cabin home as to the result of this affair. It was the beginning of a terrible anxiety that for several years robbed them of their sleep by night and their joy by day, and did not end until their homes went up in smoke and the graveyards became fat with their torn and mangled bodies.

But the expedition came to naught. There was one battle in which the Connecticut men had the victory, and then it was thought best to resort to other measures, and the men marched back again and disbanded, to return to their homes. Besides, it was the Christmas season, and the men were needed to brighten their pioneer homes with the gladness of the occasion. After all, they did not care so much about the matter, for it was apparent that there had been more talk than fact in the reports of the purposes of the Wyoming people. They were fellow-settlers and already displayed a spirit of allegiance to the Continental Congress that put the boys of the West Branch by the side of the boys of the North Branch in battlefield and in suffering camp for the attainment of the liberties of their land. If the great land owners wanted to fight the battle, let them do it, but the common

people had better things now to occupy their minds.

Henry Antes hastened home to celebrate Christmas with his family in their comfortable log cabin, and to continue the work of building the mill.

In other cabins the thought of war for the time gave way to thoughts of peace. Bratton Caldwell was one of the illegal settlers on the Indian happy hunting grounds. His home was on Pine Run, a few miles below Long Island. He could not resist the attractions of the daughter of one of his neighbors, and soon secured her promise to become his wife. The winter had set in with great cold, and the river was frozen from shore to shore. But the party did not mind this, and with a numerous band to accompany them, went up the river, past Long Island, and crossed the river on the ice and came to the cabin of Justice Antes. The knot was soon tied, and then the jollification began. It was true, many of the young men were from home, at Boston in the army, but there were enough at home to give a vent to their love of sport. This was the first wedding in the Fair Play community, and it must be an example for the others to follow. There were trials of skill, and gladsome games, and royal feasting on deer and bear. We can imagine the scene from the following description by Doddridge:

An Old-Time Wedding. For a long time after the first settlement of this country the inhabitants in general married young. There was no distinction of rank, and very little of fortune. On these accounts the first impression of love resulted in marriage, and a family establishment cost but little labor and nothing else. A description of a wedding from beginning to end will serve to show the manners of our forefathers, and mark the grade of civilization which has succeeded to their rude state of society in the course of a few years. At an early period the practice of celebrating the marriage at the house of the bride began, and, it would seem, with great propriety. She also has the choice of the priest to perform the ceremony.

A wedding engaged the attention of a whole neighborhood, and the frolic was anticipated by old and young with eager expectation. This is not to be wondered at when it is told that a wedding was almost the only gathering which was not accompanied with the labor of reaping, log-rolling, building a cabin, or planning some scout or campaign.

In the morning of the wedding day the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials, which, for certain, must take place before dinner.

Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people without a store, tailor, or mantua-maker within a hundred miles, and an assemblage of horses without a blacksmith, or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen dressed in shoe-packs, moccasins, leather breeches, leggings, linsey hunting shirts, and all home-made. The ladies dressed in linsey petticoats and linsey or linen bed-gowns, coarse shoes, stockings, handkerchiefs, and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons or ruffles they were the relics of old times; family pieces from parents or grandparents. The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles or halters, and pack-saddles, with a bag or blanket thrown over them; a rope, or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

The march in double file was often interrupted by the narrowness and obstructions of our horse-paths, as they were called, for we had no roads; and these difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good and sometimes by the ill-will of neighbors, by falling trees, and tying grape vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the wayside, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place so as to cover the wedding party with smoke. Let the reader imagine the scene which followed this discharge; the sudden spring of the horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. Sometimes, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, some were thrown to the ground. If a wrist, elbow or ankle happened to be sprained, it was tied with a handkerchief, and little more was thought or said about it.

Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached the house of the bride, after the practice of making whiskey began, which was at an early period. When the party were about a mile from the place of their destination, two young men would single out to run for the bottle: the worse the path, the more logs, brush, and deep hollows, the better, as these obstacles afforded an opportunity for the greater display of in-

trepidity and horsemanship. The English fox chase, in point of danger to the horses and their riders, is nothing to this race for the bottle. The start was announced by an Indian yell; logs, brush, muddy hollows, hill and glen, were speedily passed by the rival ponies. The bottle was always filled for the occasion, so that there was no use for judges; for the first who reached the door was presented with a prize, with which he returned in triumph to the company. On approaching them he announced his victory over his rival by a shrill whoop. At the head of the troop he gave the bottle, first to the groom and his attendants, and then to each pair in succession to the rear of the line, giving each a dram, and then, putting the bottle in the bosom of his hunting-shirt, took his station in the company.

The ceremony of the marriage preceded the dinner, which was a substantial backwoods feast of beef, pork, fowls, and sometimes venison and bear meat, roasted and boiled, with plenty of potatoes, cabbage and other vegetables. During the dinner the greatest hilarity always prevailed, although the table might be a large sized slab of timber, hewed out with a broad-axe, supported by four sticks set in auger holes, and the furniture some old pewter dishes and plates; the rest, wooden bowls and trenchers; a few pewter spoons, much battered about the edges, were to be seen at some tables. The rest were made of horns. If knives were scarce, the deficiency was made up by the scalping knives, which were carried in sheaths suspended to the belt of the hunting shirt.

After dinner the dancing commenced, and generally lasted till the next morning. The figures of the dances were three and four-handed reels, or square setts and jiggs. The commencement was always a square four, which was followed by what was called jiggging it off, that is, two of the four would single out for a jig, and were followed by the remaining couple. The jigs were often accompanied with what was called cutting out, that is, when either of the parties became tired of the dance, on intimation, the place was supplied by some one of the company without any interruption of the dance. In this way, a dance was often continued till the musician was heartily tired of his situation. Towards the latter part of the night, if any of the company, through weariness, attempted to conceal themselves, for the purpose of sleeping, they were hunted up, paraded

on the floor, and the fiddler ordered to play "Hang out till to-morrow morning."

About nine or ten o'clock, a deputation of the young ladies stole off the bride, and put her to bed. In doing this, it frequently happened that they had to ascend a ladder instead of a pair of stairs, leading from the dining and ball room to the loft, the floor of which was made of clapboards, lying loose, and without nails. As the foot of the ladder was commonly behind the door, which was purposely opened for the occasion, and its rounds at the inner ends were well hung with hunting-shirts, petticoats and other articles of clothing, the candles being on the opposite side of the house, the exit of the bride was noticed but by few. This done, a deputation of young men, in like manner, stole off the groom, and placed him snugly by the side of his bride. The dance still continued, and if seats happened to be scarce, which was often the case, every young man, when not engaged in the dance, was obliged to offer his lap as a seat for one of the girls, and the offer was sure to be accepted. In the midst of their hilarity the bride and groom were not forgotten. Pretty late in the night, someone would remind the company that the new couple must stand in need of some refreshment; Black Betty, which was the name of the bottle, was called for, and sent up the ladder. But sometimes, Black Betty did not go alone. I have many times seen as much bread, beef, pork and cabbage, sent along with her as would afford a good meal for half a dozen hungry men. The young couple were compelled to eat and drink, more or less, of whatever was offered them.

It often happened that some neighbors or relations not being asked to the wedding took offence, and the mode of revenge adopted by them on such occasions was that of cutting off the manes, foretops and tails of the wedding company's horses. On returning to the infair, the order of procession and the race for Black Betty was the same as before. The feasting and dancing often lasted for several days, at the end of which the whole company was so exhausted with loss of sleep that several days' rest were requisite to fit them to return to their ordinary labors.

In the universal burst of patriotism that swept through the valley there was no one more thoroughly alive to the spirit of

the hour than Henry Antes. Yet no one saw more clearly that there was as much patriotism in remaining at home to meet the Indians if they should rise in anger against the whites, as there was in going to Boston to help the colony of Massachusetts in her struggle against the wrongs thrust upon her, and, through her, upon all the colonies.

There was another reason why Antes should not leave the valley. He was the one who provided them with their bread-stuffs. No one could forget the great old coffee mill that had served its day in the Inn at Germantown, and then proved a greater blessing to the settlers, nor the relief to the entire valley when Antes invested time, money and labor in building the mill to which every one resorted. Even the demands of patriotism would not warrant the closing of that mill. We do not know the size of the mill, but in Wallis' papers there is the statement that in 1785 he had a grist mill built on Carpenter's Run, for which the irons were to be repaired and altered according to the directions given by Henry Antes.

The specifications called for a size of twenty by twenty-four feet. There were to be glass windows, two doors four by six and one-half feet, chimney clear, five by six and one-half feet, nine inch. Light hibs and shutters, two and one-half feet by two feet. Water house, cog pit, gate hole, mantel piece, and shaft. For the machinery, one hundred and twenty cogs, three inches square, thirteen inches long, and forty round cogs, three inches square by sixteen inches long, all of good tough hickory, well seasoned. Twelve oak boards, one inch thick, seventeen boards, fifteen feet long, for water wheel buckets, eight hundred feet well seasoned pine boards, six pieces pine scantling, four by three and one-half inches square, sixteen feet long.

The mill was near the point where the creek entered the river, just below the high bluff that rose like a watch tower above it. Below the mill was the landing, to which the settlers from the level plains on the other side came, and the resort of the people comprising the Fair Play community. There was no more popular place in the valley than this, and here the awful portents of the times were fully discussed.

When the grist mill was completed the settlers flocked to it from all parts of the Fair Play community, and from the valleys bordering the Susquehanna for a distance of forty and fifty miles.



Beside the Rabbling Brook.



The Old Grist Mill.



It became the general rendezvous of the settlers. Nowhere in the valley north of Northumberland could the news be learned quicker than here. There was an additional certainty in the reliability of the news, because Frederick Antes, in the Assembly at Philadelphia, knew that it was to the interest of the cause he represented to keep his brother, and through him his neighbors and friends, thoroughly posted as to the events so rapidly maturing at the seat of government. Here, too, the fathers of the young men who had gone to the seat of war with Captain Loudon learned of the progress they were making, and the rising of the spirit of patriotism they were witnessing throughout the country. Here, too, the busy, practical people, feeling the advantage of the state of affairs to the marketing of their produce, learned the prices current for game, skins, flax, salt, timber, powder, shot, rifles, and even the wished for, but unattainable, dress goods. In the meantime, while the neighbors were discussing these affairs, the mill kept on grinding their grain, and when the grist was ready they ceased their conversation and hurried home with the flour and the grist of new ideas of the turmoil the country was seething in. It was thus that the miller became the leading man of the frontier, and it was easy for him to duplicate the offices thrust upon him. For Miller Antes was also their Magistrate, and the one they looked to as their leader in peace and in war.

When the information came to the Antes mill that the Colonial Congress was about to take the last step in the progress of freedom, and declare the colonies free from the rule of England, there was a wild burst of enthusiasm that swept into every cabin, both of the lawful and the unlawful settlers. It was particularly pleasing to the occupants of the Fair Play territory. It seemed to be a vindication of their course. The great heads of the colonies were filled with a spirit that could be understood by them. England was to them what the Proprietary Government had been to the poor settlers. They arranged for a public meeting on the level plain, above Pine creek. Here, with patriotism surging on every side, and after speeches expressing their ardor and patriotism, they passed a series of resolutions absolving themselves from all allegiance to England and declaring themselves free and independent. Some of the men who signed this document were Thomas Frances, John Clark, Alexander Donaldson, William Campbell, Alexander Hamilton, John Jackson, Adam Carson,

Henry McCracken, Adam Dewitt, Robert Love and Hugh Nichols.

The date of this meeting was July fourth, 1776. At the same hour, more than two hundred miles away, the same spirit was manifested, and the representatives of the colonies were passing similar resolutions. It is a remarkable historical fact, revealing how thoroughly the men of the frontier were in sympathy with the throbbing life of the whole country, and that the spirit thus manifested was not to be overcome as long as there was a man left to shout the cry of freedom.

It was in the midst of such surroundings, and in the midst of such influences, that the sons of Henry Antes were reared. At this time young Henry was nineteen years of age, and his father's helper in the mill and at the home, the reliable stand-by, as his father journeyed here and there among the settlements gathering men for that army and attending to the peace of the country as a faithful Magistrate.

CHAPTER XXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

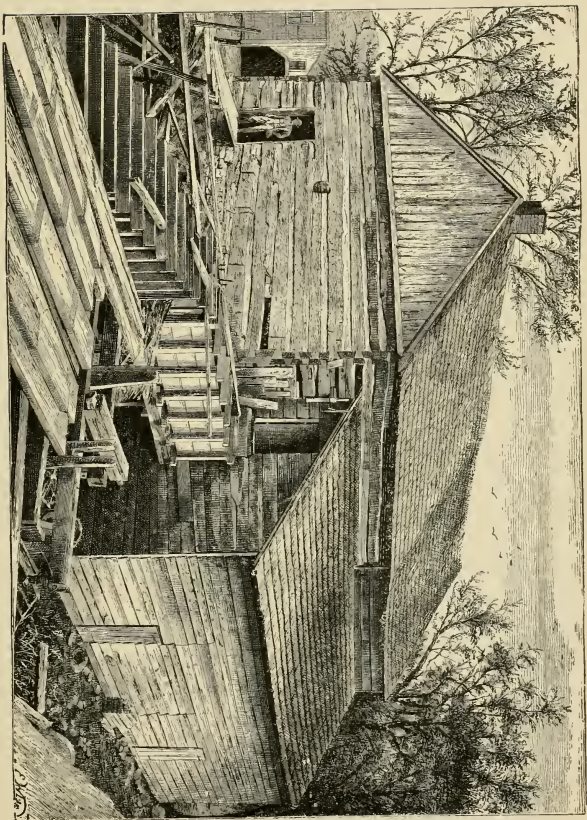
AT THE very time the clouds of strife were gathering the thickest, the prospects for the settlement of the valley were the brightest. There were numbers of immigrants daily arriving, mostly from New Jersey, and they lost no time in beginning their attack upon the lofty trees of the forest. The disturbance at Boston seemed afar off, and even the coming of the soldiers of England to Philadelphia did not appear to be within the reach of the frontier they had chosen for their homes. There were some, however, who saw the relation of things in a better light. They realized that war in one part of the country meant war in all parts of it, and that there would be no place free from danger. One of these men was Captain John Brady, who had won fame in the French and Indian war. He well understood the nature of the red man, and the danger to be apprehended from his uniting with the enemies of the colonists. He knew that the Delawares were now the foes of the white people speaking the English language. There were also the Seneca and Monsey tribes, who were not friendly with the Delawares. These latter were in considerable force along the creeks coming from the north and emptying into the Susquehanna. In a short time they could come from their strongholds at the head waters of these streams in their canoes and ravage the country before them. If the favor of these Indians could be secured, they would be a safeguard against the Delawares, and a barrier against all forest rangers thirsting for blood.

Captain Hunter, the commander at Fort Augusta, had only about fifty men at the Fort. The fear of an Indian uprising was making the people timid all over the valley, and at every little alarm, crowds of women and children rushed to the Fort for protection. In this state of feeling it was difficult for the settlers to gather in their harvests. This was the first blow at the prosperity of the valley.

Captain Brady suggested that the Seneca and Monsey chiefs be called to a conference at the Fort, and that a treaty be made with them that would insure their peaceful attitude.

The consent of the Provincial authorities was secured, and the Indians were invited. At the time appointed one hundred warriors, dressed in the full panoply of war, and accompanied by their wives and children, came down the river in their canoes and encamped at the Fort. It was a thrilling time for the little garrison. They made as brave an appearance as possible, but could not conceal their poverty from the keen eyes of the covetous savages. When the Indians, who were always accustomed to receive large gifts at treaties, saw that there were no valuable gifts for them, they declined to enter into the treaty, and departed. The sight of this large party of warriors in their canoes with their families, radiant in the brilliant colors so dear to the taste of the red man, was a spectacle that the white man must have admired, yet dreaded to see again. The soldiers had not been careless. They saw every glance of the Indians, and realized the contempt with which they withdrew. They did not doubt but that they would remove only out of sight, and then treacherously return under the cover of darkness to destroy the Fort and take the scalps of its defenders.

A few miles up the river, where Lewisburg now stands, the German, Frederick Derr, had a mill and a store, or traders' outfit, where he sold the Indians powder, lead, tobacco and rum. It occurred to Brady that the Indians would proceed to his place and fill themselves with rum. This would awaken the worst passions within them, and then no sentiments of mercy would have any effect in restraining them from cruel deeds. Brady mounted a small mare he had at the Fort and crossed the North Branch of the river, and hurriedly rode after the Indians. When he reached the point opposite Derr's he saw the canoes of the savages and the squaws exerting themselves to the utmost to bring the canoes to the side of the river where he was, and hide them in the bush-lined banks. Then he saw that they carried out of the canoes rifles, tomahawks, and knives, and hid them in the sumac bushes. He immediately jumped into a canoe and hastened across to Derr's trading house, where he found a barrel of rum standing on end with the head out, and the Indians becoming brutally drunk. In a moment Brady upset the barrel, and the rum was lost as it spread



Der's Mill.

over the ground. Then he turned to Derr, in his indignation, and said :

"My God, Frederick, what have you done?"

Derr replied, "Dey dells me you giv em no dreet town on de Fort, so I dinks as I giv um one here, als he go home in beace."

The Indians were too drunk to prevent the upsetting of the rum, and, as their weapons had been taken away, they could not punish the brave white man on the spot. One of them, however, told Brady that he would regret it, which was a covert threat of death for interfering with them. This made Brady watchful for years, lest the Indian should carry into effect his threat.

The courage of this deed has seldom been excelled. But there were no braver men in the world than the members of the Brady family.

The Indians did not, at this time, wreak their vengeance, but the entire valley was in a state of apprehension. The settlers at once began building stockade forts at various points for gathering places in case of an attack.

Fort Jenkins was built near where Bloomsburg stands. Fort Bosley was on the Chilisquaqua, near Washington. Boon's Fort was on Muddy Run, two miles above Milton. Fort Swartz was one mile above Milton. Fort Menninger was at the mouth of Warrior's Run. Freeland's Fort was four miles up the run. Fort Muncy was between Pennsboro and the mouth of Muncy creek. At Pine was Samuel Horn's Fort. At Lock Haven was the Blockhouse, commanded by Colonel Long. On the bluff, above his mill, Henry Antes gathered the settlers of his section of the valley, and built the spacious stockade that has from that time to this marked the locality as Antes Fort.

The fame of the men of the West Branch spread far and wide, and from various counties recruiting officers came, offering bribes to these men to enlist under their command for the defence of the country. This threatened to deplete the frontier of its defenders, and a meeting was called to protest against such men being permitted to thus rob the country. The following communication was sent to the Committee of Safety, in Philadelphia :

March 13th, 1776. "We are now, gentlemen, to inform you of what we think a grievance to this young and thinly inhabited country, viz. : a constant succession of recruiting officers from different counties in this province. Our zeal for the cause of

American liberty has hitherto prevented our taking any steps to hinder the raising of men for its service; but finding the evil increasing so fast upon us as almost to threaten the depopulation of the country, we cannot help appealing to the wisdom and justice of your committee to know whether the quota of men that may be demanded from this county, under their own officers, is not as much as can reasonably be expected from it. Whether, at a time when we are uncertain of peace with the Indians (well knowing that our enemies are tampering with them), and a claim is set up to the greatest part of the province by a neighboring colony, who have their hostile abettors at our very breasts, as well as their emissaries among us, is it prudent to drain an infant frontier county of its strength of men? And whether the safety of the interior parts of the province would not be better secured by adding strength to the frontier? Whether our honorable Assembly, by disposing of commissions to gentlemen in different counties to raise companies, which are to form the number of battalions thought necessary for the defense of this province, did not intend that the respective captains should raise their companies where they were appointed, and not distress one county by taking from it all the men necessary for the business of agriculture, as well as the defence of the same. From our knowledge of the state of this county we make free to give our opinion of what would be most for its advantage, as well as that of the province (between which we hope there will never be a difference); and first, are to inform you of the poverty of the people, many of whom came bare and naked here, being plundered by a banditti who called themselves Yankees; and those who brought some property with them, from the necessary delay of cultivating a wilderness before they could have any produce to live upon, together with the necessity of still continuing the closest application to labor and industry for their support, renders it morally improbable that a well disciplined militia can be established here, as the distance which some men are obliged to go to muster is the loss of two days to them; which, not being paid for, they will not, nor indeed can they, so often attend as is necessary to complete them even in the manual exercise. We would recommend that two or more companies be raised and put on pay for the use of the province to be ready to march, when and where the service may require them, and when not wanted for the service of the public at

any particular place, to be stationed in this county, in order to be near and to defend our frontiers should they be attacked by our enemies of any denomination, the good effects of which we imagine would be considerable, as, though they may be too few to repel, they may stop the progress of an enemy until the militia could be raised to assist them. Should this proposal appear to be eligible, please to inform us thereof, and we will recommend such gentlemen for officers as we think most suitable for the service and agreeable to the people. Signed by John Hambright, chairman of the meeting."

On the 12th day of September, 1775, the representatives of the people met at Derr's, because it was a central place, and elected the officers whom they desired to lead them in the defence of their homes. James Potter was elected Colonel; Robert Moodie, Lieutenant Colonel; John Kelly, First Major; John Brady, Second Major, and eleven captains of companies. Henry Antes was elected the Captain of Company 8, which consisted of fifty-eight men. The captains were to receive twenty-nine dollars a month, and to find their own arms and clothes.

When the call came for the soldiers to leave the valley and go to the army below Philadelphia, there was a re-arrangement of the troops, which caused Captain Antes to be transferred to the regiment of the Second Battalion of Northumberland County Associators, of which William Plunket was Colonel, and Antes was placed at the head of the First Company.

There was a great difference between Captain Antes and the colonel of the regiment. The sympathies of the colonel were with the English. He was thoroughly filled with the pride of an English-born subject. He was only an immigrant in America, and some represented that he was forced to emigrate because of certain unlawful deeds that he had committed. Be that as it may, he was a brave man and a capable officer until the question of loyalty to England was called into decision. Captain Antes, on the other hand, was a native born American, and was filled with the deepest loyalty to his land. It therefore soon happened that Colonel Plunket dropped out of the army, and Captain Antes received a commission as lieutenant colonel, with command of the forces on the extreme frontier, and headquarters at the Stockade, called Antes' Fort.

Antes' Fort was in one of the most exposed places on the

frontier. It stood overlooking the mouth of Pine Creek and the ancient fortifications of the Indians, the origin of which was so far in the past that no one knew their history.

If there was to be an invasion by the Indians in force, it was probable that they would descend Pine Creek, hence it was essential to the security of the whole valley that from the walls of Antes' Fort the keenest and most vigilant watch should unremittingly be kept.

The logs set upright in the ground, making the walls of the fort, were eighteen feet long. Inside the stockade, cabins were built for the families to dwell in, and before them the yards for their cattle. On the summit of the hill there was a grazing clearing for the cattle. On the side of the hill, below the walls, was a good strong spring of water. The creek was just below the walls, and the four-pounder threatened destruction to any one who dared to interfere with the mill.

The view from the fort, looking up the river, commanded the river up to the mouth of Pine creek, and no flotilla of canoes could secretly come from that quarter. If the battling was to be in the open field, there would be no question of the success of the brave white settlers. They would delight to thus match themselves as men against men and prove to the world the quality of their patriotism.

Indians, however, did not fight in the open. They crept through the woods and high grass, and watched as a cat watches for a bird, and then when the victim, unconscious of danger or the presence of a foe, was carelessly attending to the duties of his position, the Indian crashed a tomahawk into his brain, and the first sign of his presence to the people of the fort, or neighborhood, would be the sound of his dreadful war whoop, or triumphant shout that meant he had secured a scalp.

The presence of one troop of Indians in the valley placed all the people in terror, for no one knew where they might appear, or at whose doors they were lurking. Even when the guarding soldiers left the fort to seek the foe, no one knew whether the foe was watching their departure, intending to wreak vengeance on the feeble ones left in the enclosure, or were following with the scent of death the soldiers, to pick them off, one by one, as they, perchance, might straggle from the main body. And at night, when they encamped, the closest watch

had to be maintained, lest their weapons be stolen, and they themselves tomahawked while asleep. An Indian could creep through the bushes and over the leaves with the silence of the serpent, and the great stretch of forest gave no signs of his presence within. Along the rivers and creeks, at the most unexpected places, they had their canoes hidden under the water, ever ready for service, and these they propelled with a skill that could be admired, but not imitated. They were familiar with every part of the shores of the West Branch, and the location of the ripples and the eddies, the sunken rocks and the sand bars, and the islands where there were hiding places in times of pursuit. Like the snake, or the bird, or the fish, they were at home in the haunts of nature, and while this was their delight, it was the terror of the white people.

At the time Henry Antes was showing his patriotism on the Susquehanna, Frederick Antes was elected Colonel of the Sixth Battalion, Philadelphia County Associators,, by the companies from Limerick, Douglas, Marlborough, New Hanover, Upper Hanover, and Frederick townships. His commission was dated May 6th, 1777.

The Supreme Executive Council gave the following order on September 11th, 1777: "Ordered, that Colonel Heister, Correy, Antes, and Dean's respective battalions do immediately rendezvous at the Swedes Ford; Col. Moore and McVeagh, at Falls of Schuylkill, and Col. Warner's at Darby. As the enemy is near at hand, and this minute engaging our army under command of his Excellency, General Washington."

Ridpath says: "On the 25th of August, the British landed at Elk River, in Maryland, and nine days afterward began their march toward Philadelphia. After a council of war and some changes in the arrangement of his forces, Washington selected the left bank of the Brandywine as his line of defence. The left wing of the American army was stationed at Chadd's Ford to dispute the passage, while the right wing, under General Sullivan, was extended for three miles up the river. On the 11th of September, the British reached the opposite bank and began battle. What seemed to be their principal attack was made by the Hessians under Knyphausen, at the Ford; and here Wayne's division held the enemy in check. But the onset of Knyp-

hausen was only a feint to keep the Americans engaged until a stronger column of the British, led by Cornwallis and Howe, could march up the south bank of the Brandywine and cross at a point above the American right. In this way, Sullivan, who was not on the alert, allowed himself to be outflanked. Washington was misled by false information; the right wing, though the men under Lafayette and Stirling fought with great courage, was crushed in by Cornwallis, and the day was hopelessly lost.

During the night the defeated patriots retreated to Westchester. Greene brought up the rear in good order; through his efforts, and those of the Commander-in-Chief, the army was saved from destruction. The loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and missing amounted to fully a thousand men; that of the British, to five hundred and eighty-four. The gallant Lafayette was severely wounded; Count Pulaski, a brave Pole, who had espoused the patriotic cause, so distinguished himself in this engagement that Congress honored him with the rank of Brigadier, and gave him command of the cavalry. On the day after the battle Washington continued his retreat to Philadelphia, and then took post at Germantown, a few miles from the city. Undismayed by his reverse, he resolved to risk another engagement. Accordingly, on the 15th of the month, he recrossed the Schuylkill and marched towards the British camp. Twenty miles below Philadelphia he met Howe at Warren's tavern. For a while the two armies manoeuvred, the enemy gaining the better position; then a spirited skirmish ensued and a great battle was imminent. But just as the conflict was beginning, a violent tempest of wind and rain swept over the field. The combatants were deluged, their cartridges soaked, and fighting made impossible. Washington recrossed the river and confronted his antagonist, who had marched down the Schuylkill. Howe turned suddenly about and hurried up stream along the right bank in the direction of Reading. Washington, fearing for his stores, pressed forward up the left bank to Pottstown. But the movement of the British westward was only feigned; again Howe wheeled, marched rapidly to the ford, above Norristown, crossed the river, and hastened to Philadelphia. When the British saw the fortifications which the militia had thrown up at Swedes Ford, they passed on up to Fatland Ford, where they crossed. In this the militia had done good

work. On December 13th, Washington crossed the river with his army at Swedes Ford, on the way to Valley Forge. They made a bridge by placing wagons together, backed against each other, and for lack of boards used fence rails for a flooring.

It was about this time that General Howe set a price of £200 on the head of Frederick Antes, which compelled the patriot to emigrate to Northumberland, when the tories began to obtain power again about Philadelphia, but time has beautified the order as a crown of honor to the man who bore it for his country's sake.

The spectacle of Washington and the American soldiers suffering privations and want at Valley Forge, during the winter of 1777, has touched the hearts of their descendants, and evoked a tenderness that has thrown into the shade the condition of many others of that same time. The fact is, the barefooted soldiers, with bleeding feet, were not alone in suffering during that stormy and severe winter.

As soon as it was known that the British were ascending the Elk river, with the purpose of attacking Philadelphia, the American Congress and the Assembly of Pennsylvania united to strip the city of everything that would contribute to the comfort of the British. All manner of provisions were ordered to be transported out of the city, and this was being done, even until the British troops entered. When Colonel Frederick Antes and his militia, and the other officers with their militia, were trying to prevent the British from crossing the Schuylkill, the wagons of goods from the city were back of them on the way out into the interior. When the British entered Philadelphia they found it largely stripped of food and fuel, and an army, beside the twenty thousand inhabitants, to feed. Instead of being a glorious victory for the British, it was a tight place they were in, thanks to the wise plans of General Washington, and those who so ably assisted him. It is true, there was gaiety in Philadelphia that winter among the officers of the British army and the higher classes of the tories, but there was the most awful poverty and want, also, and such want that exceeded the suffering at Valley Forge. Women of Philadelphia went to the outer lines of the Americans and begged to be allowed to leave Philadelphia to save themselves from starving.

General Potter, in charge of the militia numbering six hundred, scoured the country between the Schuylkill and Chester to see that no provisions from that section went into the city. Gen-

eral Lacy had charge of those above the Schuylkill to see that nothing went to the relief of the besieged. General Lacy wanted to entirely depopulate the country about Philadelphia for a distance of fifteen miles, to render it absolutely a desert to the invaders. If any one for a distance of thirty miles about the city was discovered with provisions for the besieged, he was shot and left in the road with his provisions as an example to deter all others. The entire country was continually scoured by the militia and the light horse to see that no aid was given the foe. Truly, the vengeance of the suffering army at Valley Forge was awful. In Philadelphia there was very little silver and gold, even among those who were considered wealthy, and the traders who accompanied the British army refused to accept the paper currency of the State, which was the only money the people had. On the 16th of December, 1777, the Quakers in Philadelphia who were loyalists addressed a letter to the Quakers in Ireland, begging them to send food to them. At that time flour was worth three guineas per hundred, and ship bread more. Beef and pork and fuel were in proportion. Potatoes were sixteen shillings a bushel, beef was seven shillings and sixpence a pound. A single chicken was worth ten shillings, and even at these prices gold or silver only was accepted. This was the glorious victory of the British in occupying Philadelphia.

At this time Colonel Henry Antes was desperately trying to hold the extreme frontier on the West Branch of the Susquehanna against the Indians. Colonel Frederick Antes was scouring the country in the neighborhood of the Scippack to prevent relief reaching Philadelphia. His own home and land were stripped of everything to help the soldiers at Valley Forge. Colonel William Antes was busy trying to convert the estates of tories into funds for the use of the State, and as Sub-Lieutenant of Philadelphia County, keep the soldiers of his district in their places. Henry Shoemaker, who was afterward the father-in-law of Colonel Henry Antes' eldest son, was conveying provisions from the back country in his great wagons to the relief of the army at Valley Forge. William Dewees, the uncle of Colonel Henry Antes, was entertaining Washington and his wife in his home at Valley Forge. David Rittenhouse, the second cousin of the Antes brothers, was the Treasurer of Pennsylvania, and was doing his utmost to solve the difficult financial problem of the day. The

army had stripped the mills of Dewees and Paul, so that nothing was there for anyone to use, and they were too near the British lines to be safely operated. At the battle of Germantown the American soldiers swarmed about them, and later the visits of the Light Horse made it unsafe for anyone to make a harboring place of them. The beautiful farms of the Paulings were just across the river from Valley Forge, and throughout that entire section everything that was raised was placed at the disposal of the army. Men then willingly made themselves poor that the army might live. These men had no sympathy with the infamous cabal that was fomented to displace General Washington, but, as they laid all upon the altar of their country, they could weep with the General at the sufferings of the soldiers, and strain their utmost to obtain money to render uncalled for the mutiny of those who, through the poverty of the government, had not received their well-earned pay. Just the year before, Frederick Antes, David Rittenhouse and Charles Shoemaker sat together as members of the convention that gave to Pennsylvania her Constitution. After the war Rittenhouse was State Treasurer a part of the time that Frederick Antes was Treasurer of Northumberland county, and Colonel Henry Antes was untangling the mixed affairs of the settlers in Wyoming. Rittenhouse was not only an ardent patriot, but was one of the foremost scholars of his day.

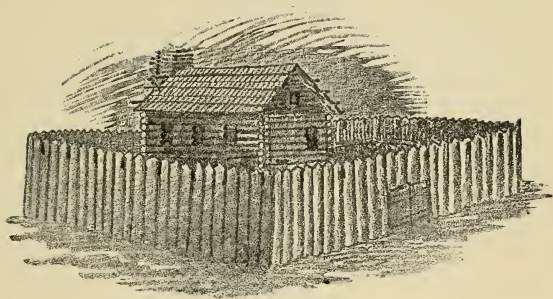
CHAPTER XXVII.

INDIAN MASSACRES.

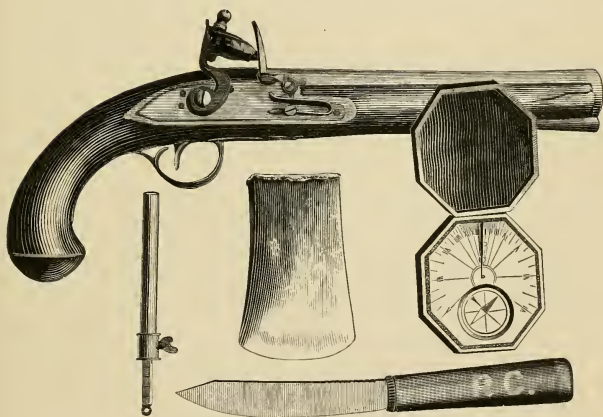
IN MAY, 1777, John Henry Antes was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Battalion of Associators, and stationed at the fort he had built as the rallying place for the settlers of the western part of the West Branch Valley. The fort was on the hill overlooking the entire section of country settled by the squatters known as the Fair Play men. Also the rendezvous of the lawful settlers on the south side of the river and the Nippenose Valley. Meginnes says: "The settlers were obliged to abandon their rude cabins, their little fields of grain, and seek refuge within these enclosures (the stockade forts) from the scalping knife of the savage. The women and children remained in the forts, whilst the men, in armed companies, would venture to their fields and houses and cut their crops. Those who refused to seek the forts generally paid for their rashness with their lives."

The danger grew more alarming from day to day. One fine Sunday morning in June, 1777, Zephaniah Miller, Abel Cady, James Armstrong and Isaac Bouser left Antes' Fort with two women and crossed the river into the disputed territory for the purpose of milking a number of cows that were pasturing on that side. When they landed, all the cows were found, but the one that wore the bell was heard some distance back in the bushes. It did not occur to the party that Indians might be lurking in the bushes. They were there, however, and had managed to keep this cow back for the purpose of luring the party on. Cady, Armstrong and Miller started to secure the cow. As soon as they entered the bushes they were fired on by the concealed foe, and two of them fell severely wounded. Miller and Cady were scalped immediately, but Armstrong, who was also injured in the back of the head, succeeded in getting away.

As soon as the firing commenced, the women ran with



A Stockade Fort to protect Settlers from Indians.



The Weapons of a Frontier Scout

Bouser and secreted themselves in a rye field. The garrison in the fort were alarmed, and rushed forth immediately, regardless of the orders of Colonel Antes, who feared it might be a decoy to draw them away from the fort, when it would be assailed from the other side. They paid no attention to his orders, however, and seizing the canoes, crossed the river immediately to the relief of their comrades. They found Miller and Cady where they fell; Cady was not dead. They carried him to the river bank where his wife met him. On seeing her he reached out his hand and immediately expired. He had recently returned from the army, and was one of the original settlers on the river. Armstrong was taken over to the fort, where he lingered in great agony until Monday night, when he expired. A party immediately pursued the Indians, and coming up with them at a place called the Race Ground, they stood and fired, then broke and fled, pursued by the whites. They ran across what is now the upper part of the town of Jersey Shore, and escaped into the swamp. The whites fired upon them several times, and probably did some execution, as marks of blood were plainly visible where they had apparently dragged away their killed and wounded.

In the winter of the same year three men left Horn's Fort and proceeded across the river to the Monseytown flats, above Lockport. They were fired upon by a lurking party of Indians and one man was killed near Sugar Run. The other two fled and were pursued across the ice. One of them, named Dewitt, in the hurry of the flight, ran into an air hole. He caught hold of the edge of the ice, however, and managed to keep his head above water. The Indians were afraid to venture too near. They commenced firing at his head, but watching the flash of the gun, he dodged under the water like a duck and eluded the ball. Several shots were fired at him, when, thinking he was dead, they left. Dewitt, in an exhausted state, succeeded in crawling from the water on the ice and escaped to the fort.

The other man, having crossed to the south side of the river, was pursued by a single Indian, who gained on him rapidly. He had a gun which was supposed to be worthless, but as the Indian neared him he turned and pointed it at him, thinking to intimidate him, but didn't pull the trigger. This he repeated several times, when the savage, thinking it was unload-

ed, would point his tomahawk at him in derision and exclaim, 'Pooh! Pooh!' The pursuit continued, and the Indian came up close, feeling certain of his victim. As a last resort, he instinctively raised his gun and pulled the trigger, when, to his astonishment, it went off, and shot the Indian dead. He escaped to the fort in safety. A party turned out and pursued the Indians as far as Youngwoman's Creek. They noticed that they had carried and dragged the body of the dead Indian all the way with them, from the marks in the snow.

The next attack made by the Indians in the autumn of 1777, was near Loyalsock Creek, on the families of Brown and Benjamin. Daniel Brown settled at a very early period at this place. He had two daughters married to two brothers named Benjamin. On the alarm of the approaching Indians being given, the Benjamins, with their wives and children, took refuge at the house of Mr. Brown, and made preparations to defend themselves. The enemy came and assaulted the house. A brisk resistance was maintained for some time, during which an Indian was killed from Benjamin's rifle. Finding they could not dislodge them they set the house on fire. The flames spread rapidly, and a horrible death stared the inmates in the face. What was to be done? Remain inside and be burned, or come forth to be dispatched by the tomahawks of the savages? Either alternative was a fearful one.

The Benjamins at length determined to come forth and trust themselves to the mercy of the Indians. Brown refused, and remained in the burning building with his wife and daughter, and was consumed with them, preferring to meet death in this way rather than to fall into the hands of the enemy and be tortured.

When the Benjamins with their families came forth one of them was carrying his youngest child in his arms. The savages received them at the door. A big Indian brandished his tomahawk, and with a fiendish yell buried the glittering steel in his brain. As he fell forward his wife with a shriek caught the little child in her arms. His scalp was immediately torn from his head and shook exultingly in her face. The remainder of the survivors were carried into captivity. This bloody massacre occurred on what was long known as the Buckley farm on Loyalsock.

About the close of the year the Indians killed a man named Saltzman, on the Sinnemahoning. At the same time Daniel Jones, who owned what the settlers called the little mill, on a stream this side of Farrandsville, was murdered, also another man. His wife escaped to the Fort. These settlers had been warned to leave, but refused to do so, claiming there was no danger. Their lives paid for their incredulity.

At this time Colonel Cookson Long gathered a company of about twenty men, and went up to Youngwoman's creek to look for Indians. They suddenly espied a number of warriors on the opposite side marching along in single file, painted and dressed in war costume. The whites, being undiscovered, concealed themselves. The men were very anxious to select each his man and fire upon them, but the Colonel refused. There were not more than twenty or thirty Indians, and the whites could undoubtedly have done good execution. The Colonel remained in his concealed position until they had passed, when he returned to the Fort and reported that a large body of savages were approaching.

Notwithstanding the utmost vigilance, a man was tomahawked on the 23d of December, 1777, near the mouth of Pine creek; and about the 1st of July, 1778, another man was killed two miles above the Great Island.

Petitions having been sent to the Council, praying for some plan to be devised for the defense of the inhabitants of the valley, instructions were forwarded to Colonel Hunter, ordering out the fifth class of the militia of the county. On the 14th of January, 1778, Colonel Hunter writes to President Wharton and informs him what orders he had given. Colonel Antes also came down to Fort Augusta to consult as to what was best to be done, as parties of Indians were constantly prowling around. Three companies of Colonel Long's Battalion were ordered to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning, subject to the order of Colonel Antes.

The party of Indians that murdered the man about the 1st of January, above Great Island, were eleven in number. They were pursued by Antes' command, and as a light snow had fallen, were tracked easily. The whites came up with them and succeeded in killing two. The rest fled and could not be overtaken, although followed for a long distance.

Arms were very scarce. Colonel Hunter informed Presi-

dent Wharton, on the 28th of March, 1778, that he had endeavored to purchase some good guns, but could get none. Two rifles and sixty ordinary muskets were all the public arms in the county at that time. It is supposed, however, that nearly all the settlers had weapons of their own. All the guns worth repairing were being put in order, and, remarks Colonel Hunter, I have promised the gunsmiths their pay for so doing.

It appears that the fifth class of militia, as they were called, were only to serve two months. As soon as their term expired the sixth class were ordered to relieve them. The people complained that if no troops were stationed above Muncy they would be obliged to abandon their settlements and go down the river.

On the 5th of May Colonel Hunter writes that he could get no provisions to buy for them. All that could be obtained was some beef and pork that had been purchased by Colonel Hugh White for the Continental stores. Of flour, there was a small quantity. About this time Colonel John Kelly's battalion was ordered to Penn's Valley to perform duty for two months, where Jacob Stanford, his wife and daughter were inhumanly killed and scalped, and his son, a lad of ten years, carried into captivity. A party of Indians having penetrated into Buffalo Valley and secured a large amount of plunder, were hotly pursued by Lieutenant Moses Van Campen with a party of men. They were so close upon them that they were obliged to abandon their ill-gotten booty at a large spring back of Jersey Shore. It is stated that several valuable articles, such as silver tankards, etc., were recovered at this place by the pursuing party.

In May, the 6th and 7th classes of Colonel Long's battalion were ordered to be consolidated by Colonel Hunter and scout along the frontier until the sixth and seventh classes of Colonel Murray's and Hosterman's battalions should arrive at the Great Island to cover the frontier there.

Colonel Hunter writes to Mr. Wharton, President of the Council, under date of May 14th, 1778, as follows concerning these detachments: "These last classes would have marched before this time only for want of provisions; as for meat, there is very little to be had in this County, and that very dear; Bacon sells at 4s 6d @ pound, and flour at three pounds ten shillings @ Hundred wt. I have ordered some people that lives nigh the Great Island to preserve Shad and Barrel them up for the use of

the Militia that will be stationed there this summer. Colonel William Cooke will undertake to provide Provisions for the Militia of this County, in case he was supplied with Cash at this present time, as he would go to some other County to purchase some meat, for I am certain it will be very much wanted in case the Savages Commence a war with the frontiers, all must turn out to prevent, if possible, such a Cruel Enemy from Making inroads into our part of the country. We are scarce of Guns, not more than one-half of the Militia is provided with Arms, and a number of them Very Ordinary; Our Powder is Exceeding Bad, and not fit for Rifles in any shape. And as for Flints, we can get none to Buy; All this I think proper to acquaint the Council with, &c."

On the 16th of May, near the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, three men, who were at work putting in a small field of corn, were attacked by a party of Indians, killed and scalped. Two days following, near Pine creek, a man, woman and child were taken prisoners, probably by the same party, and carried off. On the 20th of the same month, two men and seven women and children were taken from one house, near Lycoming creek. They were all carried away as prisoners. About the same time three families, consisting of sixteen in number, were killed and carried away from Loyalsock. A party that went up from Wallis' only found two dead bodies, from which they supposed the remainder were taken prisoners. Their houses were all reduced to ashes. About this time Andrew Armstrong, who settled at the big spring below where Linden now stands, was visited by a party of Indians. They came very suddenly. On the alarm being given, Mrs. Armstrong, who was enciente, slipped under the bed. The Indians entered the house, and seizing Armstrong, his little son and a woman named Nancy Bundy, made preparations to carry them away. Armstrong told his wife to lie still, which she did, and escaped. They were in a great hurry on account of a small body of men being stationed a short distance below, and did not take time to fire the building. They turned up the creek with their prisoners. Mrs. Armstrong crawled from her hiding place, and looking out of the window, beheld her husband and little son disappear in the forest with them.

About this time four men, Robert Fleming, Robert Donaldson, James McMichael and John Hamilton, started down the river from Horn's to Antes' Fort in canoes to arrange for crafts to

transport their families and effects down the river. Having engaged a flat, they started on their return, and had passed through the Pine creek ripples, when they pushed over to the south side of the river to rest and wait for their comrades, who were following with the flat. As they were about to land they were suddenly fired on by a small party of Indians concealed on the shore. Donaldson jumped out of the canoe, fired, and cried to the others, "Come on, boys!" Hamilton saw the Indians rise from behind a small bluff, and at the same time noticed the blood spurting from Donaldson's back as he was trying to reload his gun. Hamilton immediately gave his canoe a shove from the shore, jumped in, fell flat on the bottom, and then, by a sudden whirl of his body, landed in the water, and holding the canoe with one hand between himself and the Indians, he paddled across the river with the other hand. Several bullets flew around him, but he escaped unharmed. When he landed his woolen clothes were so heavy from being saturated with water that his progress was greatly impeded. He therefore stripped himself of everything but his shirt and started on a run up the river. His route was by a path which led through the Gallagher and Cook farms, which were then grown up with bushes. He ran for life, and at the flutter of a bird or other noise, he would clear the brush at every bound. In this way he ran for nearly three miles, until he came opposite Horn's Fort, which was on the south side of the river, when he was discovered and taken across.

The men in the flat pushed over, landed and crossed Pine creek a short distance above the mouth, and hurried up the river to the main party at Horn's. James Jackson, who was with the party on the flat, found a horse pasturing on the Pine creek clearing, which he caught, mounted, and rode to the settlement above.

After the excitement of this tragic affair had subsided a party started down the river and secured the dead bodies of Donaldson, McMichael and Fleming, which they carried to Antes Fort, and buried them in the little cemetery which had been started on the hill, near the Fort. John Hamilton was only about sixteen years of age. His escape and flight were regarded as little less than marvelous.

The same day this bloody affair occurred a party of men were driving a lot of cattle down the river from above the Great Island. Crossing the plains near where Liberty now stands, they were

fired upon by a party of Indians. The whites immediately returned the fire, when an Indian was observed to fall, and was carried off. A man named Samuel Fleming was shot through the shoulder. The Indians fled very precipitately and abandoned a big lot of plunder, consisting largely of blankets, which fell into the hands of the whites.

Between Lycoming creek and Antes' Fort there was no protection for the settlers. Some brave spirits, among whom were William King, Robert Covenhoven and James Armstrong, were engaged in building a stockade enclosure, at Lycoming, formed of logs eight or ten feet in length, planted in the ground side by side, with the tops leaning outward, so as not to be easily scaled. It covered perhaps half an acre, and was located near what is now Fourth and Stevens streets, Williamsport.

The rumors of a descent by the Tories and the Indians on the North Branch had aroused a fear for the safety of Northumberland, and some of the settlers thought their families would be safer in the new stockade than below; so they went down to Northumberland, loaded up their goods and started back for the new refuge. They requested Mrs. King to accompany them, but she did not wish to disobey her husband's orders, and refused. Finally they overcame her scruples by showing her that he would have to travel all the way down in a canoe for her and the children and take them up the river alone, which would expose them to much more danger than would befall a party traveling together. The long, tedious, rough ride up the river passed drearily until towards the evening of the second or third day, when the man in charge of the team said: "Here is the last stream we will cross before reaching the Fort, and we will stop and water." The horses had no sooner halted than unerring rifles cracked and the utmost confusion at once ensued.

The following graphic account of the terrible massacre that followed is given in a letter by Colonel Hosterman to Colonel Winter, from Fort Muncy, June 10th, 1778: On this day Colonel Hosterman, Captain Reynolds and thirteen men set out for Antes' mill with ammunition for that place and Big Island. The same day Peter Smith, his wife and six children; William King's wife and two children; Michael Smith, Michael Campbell and David Chambers, belonging to Captain Reynold's company, and Snodgrass and Hammond, being six men, two women and eight chil-

dren, were going with a wagon to Lycoming. When they reached Loyalsock, John Harris met them and said he had heard firing up the creek and desired them to return, as to go forward was dangerous. But Peter Smith said that firing would not stop them. Harris then proceeded to Fort Muncy, and Smith and party continued up the river. Upon Harris' information a party of fifteen started from the Fort in the direction of where the firing had been heard. When Smith with his party and wagon had got within half a mile of Lycoming creek the Indians fired on them, and at the first fire Snodgrass fell dead, being shot through the temple. The Indians first fired two guns, when they gave a yell and ran towards the wagon. The men with the wagon, who did not see the Indians until they fired and approached them, immediately took to trees and returned the fire. A little boy and a girl made off at this time and escaped. The Indians closed in on the party and tried to surround them. This caused all the men to flee as fast as possible but Campbell, who was last seen fighting at close quarters with his rifle, and an Indian gun was afterwards found on the spot broken to pieces. Before they were out of sight of the wagon they saw the Indians attacking the women and children with their tomahawks. The number of Indians Chambers thought to be about twenty.

This bloody affair began just before sundown. The boy who escaped pushed on to Lycoming Creek and informed the men there what had happened. They started immediately, but mistaking the intelligence the boy gave, went to the river to the place where they lived, thinking that it was the canoe that was attacked. In the meantime, Captain Hepburn, with the party that had started from Fort Muncy, came up and found the dead bodies of Snodgrass and another man, but it being dark, they could not distinguish who they were. They continued on to Lycoming, where they met the other party, and waited until the next day, as it was too late to do anything that night.

On the morning of June 11th, they returned and found the bodies of the following persons: Peter Smith's wife, shot through and stabbed, scalped, and a knife left by her side; William King's wife, tomahawked and scalped. She had dragged herself near the stream, and rested with her hand under her head, with her brains oozing through her fingers; she leaned on



Escape of William King.

her husband when he came to her, but expired almost immediately. She was conscious when they came, but could not speak. A little girl was killed and scalped—also a little boy. Snodgrass was found shot through the head, tomahawked and scalped. Campbell was shot in the back, tomahawked, stabbed, scalped and a knife left sticking in his body. They had taken his rifle, but nothing was removed from the wagon but a few trifling articles.

This bloody affair took place at the point where West Fourth street, Williamsport, crosses the stream which flows down Cemetery street. The road was merely a widening out of the old Indian trail, and was cut through a thicket of wild plums here; the boughs with the leaves dried upon them being thrown into the bushes formed a safe place for the concealment of lurking savages.

In September, nearly three months after this massacre, William Winters came up from Berks county with several men to cut hay in a meadow near the mouth of Lycoming Creek, for the purpose of feeding the cattle he proposed to bring up late in the fall. While William Winters, who led the party, was preparing dinner at the cabin he had previously built near the corner of the present Third and Rose streets, William King and others stood their guns against a tree and started in to cut the grass. They had got but two and a half swaths cut, when the Indians, who had stealthily crept around between them and their arms, opened fire upon the party, killing three or four at the first round. King quickly ran to the river and swam to the opposite shore, dodging under the water whenever the Indians fired. One man dropped in the grass and lay concealed until dark, when he made his way to the river, raised one of the sunken canoes, and quietly paddled to Northumberland, where he reported that all had been killed but himself. While he was relating his sorrowful tale, and the families of the unfortunates were bewailing their loss, King suddenly stepped among them in an almost nude condition, having torn his clothing from his body in his rapid flight over the mountains and through the bushes. Winters, and those who were with him, on hearing the firing, concealed themselves until the Indians had departed, when they went to where their comrades had been killed, gathered their bodies together, and covered them with freshly mown

hay, and then hurried down the river. In the following spring they returned to bury them. They were buried on the site of an old Indian burying ground near where the previous massacre had taken place in the plum tree thicket.

Andrew Fleming settled on Pine Creek, in the vicinity of where Matthew McKinney's house stands. On Christmas Day, 1778, he took down his rifle and observed to his wife that he would go and kill a deer. He started up the ravine and had not been gone long before the report of a gun was heard. The day wore away and he did not return. His wife became alarmed at his protracted absence, and feared that evil might have befallen him. Proceeding up the ravine to look for him, she suddenly perceived three savages skulking in the bushes and her worst suspicions were at once aroused. Returning, hastily, she gave the alarm, and a number of neighbors collected and proceeded to search for her husband. They had gone but a short distance when they came to his dead body. Three balls had passed through him, one having entered his eye; the scalp was removed.

The danger soon became so great that a panic seized the inhabitants, and nearly all of them about Muncy fled to Brady's Fort. Those above and up to Lycoming Creek took refuge at Wallis'. All above Lycoming and Pine Creeks were at Antes' and Horn's Forts. The inhabitants of Penn's Valley gathered at Potter's Fort. Those below Muncy hill to Chillisquaque, were assembled at Freeland's and Boone's Forts and Sunbury. Those in White Deer and Buffalo Valleys fled to the river and fortified themselves at various points. This took place in the summer of 1778. Colonel Hunter, in a letter to John Hambright, says that it was very distressing to see the poor settlers flying and leaving their homes. The immigrants from New Jersey, who had come that spring and winter, set off again as rapidly as they could travel to their old homes. Colonel Hepburn, afterwards Judge Hepburn, was stationed for awhile at Muncy Fort and commanded it. Colonel Hosterman, Captain Reynolds, Captain Berry and others were sent up soon after to assist in protecting the frontier.

On the intelligence of the barbarities already described reaching Colonel Hunter, at Fort Augusta, he became greatly alarmed for the safety of those who remained above Fort Muncy.

and sent word to Colonel Hepburn to order them to abandon the country and retire below. He did this, he claimed, because there was not a sufficiency of troops to guard the whole frontier, and Congress had taken no action to furnish him with men and supplies. Colonel Hepburn had some trouble to get a messenger to carry the order up to Colonel Antes, so panic-stricken were the people on account of the ravages of the Indians. At length Robert Covenhoven and a young millwright in the employ of Andrew Culbertson volunteered their services, and started on the dangerous mission. They crossed the river, ascended Bald Eagle Mountain, and kept along the summit till they came to the gap opposite Antes' Fort. They then cautiously descended at the head of Nippenose Bottom and proceeded to the fort. It was in the evening, and as they neared the fort the report of a rifle rang upon their ears. A girl had gone outside to milk a cow, and an Indian lying in ambush fired on her. The ball fortunately passed through her clothes, and she escaped unharmed.

The coming of these messengers was sufficient to complete the fright of the people. There was an uncertainty as to the number of the Indians. They did not know but that the entire force of the Iroquois was scattered through the woods, on the mountains and along the river.

The brave messengers delivered the command from Colonel Hunter, that all persons should evacuate within a week, thus showing the extreme fear of those in command at the central point of refuge. The messengers again took to the mountains and passed up to Horn's Fort, where they delivered the same message.

There was no delay on the part of the settlers in obeying orders. They hastily selected from their goods what could be carried and packed it into portable bundles, and buried in the ground other valuable things that they could not take with them. Then they gathered along the river and the flight began. Every sort of floating vessel they possessed was used to transport them. The women, children, animals, poultry, bedding, cooking utensils, spinning wheels, keepsakes, clothing, &c., were placed on the boats for security against the devastating foe. There were flat boats, batteaux, canoes, rafts, pig troughs—all moving in a flotilla that represented the resources

and the mechanical skill of all the settlements on the West Branch.

The men formed into two columns and marched down the banks of the river abreast of the flotilla to prevent any attack from savages lurking in the forests. Considering the ignorance of the numbers or proximity of the Indians, the courage of these men was worthy of all praise. To realize the extent of it one needs to look at the map of the river and note the topography, showing the streams that had to be waded, and the swamps to be passed, and the lagoons to be swum, and the mountain spurs to be climbed. It was a hard journey, requiring attention to their footsteps as well as to the lurking places that might conceal a foe.

As the flotilla passed down the river and came to shoals and ripples, the women jumped out of the boats into the water and with their shoulders pushed their crafts into the current again. In this way they went down the river and at night saw the flames of their burning homes lighting the skies back of them and cutting off all hopes of soon returning to find things as they had been. But tears and grief were of no avail; they were all suffering alike; it was the destruction of the valley. Covenhoven, the messenger who had warned the others, got his own family and bedding in his boat and was proceeding down the river just below Fort Menninger when he saw a woman on the shore fleeing from an Indian. She jumped down the river bank and fell. The Indian, in a second, was at her side, and as quick as thought grasped her hair and lifted her scalp. He did not tarry to strike her, but leaped back into the shelter of the bushes and escaped. Some men from the fort found her and carried her to safety. It was Mrs. Durham. She lived after this event near Warrior's Run for seventy years, dying in 1848.

The entire flotilla reached Fort Augusta in safety. Here they found that Colonel Hunter and others had sent their families farther down the river for safety, and were themselves ready to flee if the danger increased. Many of the settlers did not unload their boats, but continued down the river until they came into the more thickly populated counties and beyond the reach of Indian alarms. One such scare was enough for their lifetime. The others made the best arrangement of their goods that was possible and waited until relief should come.

There were some Indians who were friendly to the whites. The various tribes did not always agree, and there was considerable internecine rivalry among them. There was one Indian who had always been the friend of the white men, and at these times proved himself to be especially useful. For more than twenty years Job Chilloway had served the white men as a scout. In 1759, the Provincial authorities employed him as a spy and guide. He served, during this fearful time of alarms, the various officers of the colonial cause. He went with Colonel Potter's regiment to the front, and was in the battle at Red Bank. He returned to his favorite haunts along the Susquehanna, and was with Colonel Kelly, at Great Island. He loitered about his favorite hunting grounds in Nippenose Valley, and was under the immediate attention of Colonel Antes. All the settlers knew him and fully trusted him as a true friend and faithful watchman. The red face of Job Chilloway never brought fear to the unprotected cabin of a white man. Women and children alike welcomed him, for he was a safeguard.

Job was thoroughly loyal to Colonel Antes. He kept well informed of the movements of the Indians, and in time apprised his patron so that he was saved from many an ambush or sudden attack. He knew the woods thoroughly, and while the soldiers were guarding the stockades he rambled hither and thither fearlessly and contentedly. On one occasion, when Job came into the fort, he appeared to be very greatly amused and laughed heartily. As there did not seem to be any cause for this, Colonel Antes asked him why he was so merry. At first he would not tell, but upon frequent solicitation, told the cause, which was this: As he was loitering in the woods, near the fort, he discovered that the sentinel placed to watch the woods was leaning against a tree asleep. Job stealthily slipped about the tree and seized the man. Suddenly awakened and finding himself in the grasp of an Indian, the soldier was greatly scared. He struggled hard to get loose, but the tall muscular Indian held him firmly. At length Job revealed himself, and the sentinel begged him not to tell Colonel Antes. Job rebuked him for his neglect of duty and said, "You might have been killed and scalped."

"Yes," replied the sentinel, "I might have been caught by

an Indian, and killed, and scalped, before I had known anything about it."

"It was an Indian that caught you," replied Job, with a grin, "but you may thank God he was your friend."

Job would not tell the Colonel who it was that gave him cause for amusement, but said that if he would watch the countenances of the soldiers when parading he would learn who it was.

Colonel Antes drew the men up on parade, and closely scrutinized the faces of them all. The guilty man was unable to conceal his apprehensions and freely confessed the whole affair to his commander. The Colonel did not punish him, but warned him as to the results of such dereliction of duty.

Job Chilloway had a cabin in Nippenose Valley, which he made his home when hunting. He had lived so much among the white people that he adopted their manner of building a permanent home, instead of merely a bower of tree branches or the troublesome paraphernalia of a wigwam to carry about with him. This cabin was of the most simple kind, and was only a hunter's lodge, but it served his purpose well and was a place that he could call home. The hunting facilities of the valley were peculiarly favorable. The valley at one time had been a lake, until the rising streams burst through the mountains and formed the outlet, the creek that ran by the home of Antes. The bed of the valley never was covered with trees, as were the mountains all about it, but with grass and bushes, such as formed a favorable lair for wild animals. In this the panther could hide securely. Along the creek by the entrance to the valley here was a safe harboring resort for bears, while the deer could graze in the grass and grow fat. All the smaller game also could here resort, and by the skill that nature gave them, hide from each other and fight out the question of an existence. While it was a specially favorable spot for them to feed in, there were so many antagonisms amongst themselves that the dangers were increased in proportion. Job's cabin was far enough away from the white people for him to feel free from their interference in the peculiar habits of his race. When he wanted them he could easily go to them, but the Indian had his own life as an Indian, which demanded expression in its own way.

Chilloway had a wife whom the white people called Betsy, who



Betsy Chilloway.

was a good representative of the Indian character. In the Indian customs the wife lived with her husband only so long as she chose to do so. If he neglected her, or abused her, or became disagreeable to her, she left him, and either lived alone or secured another husband more to her liking. This was according to their code of morals, and as it was a disgrace for a man to lose his wife, it led the men to be kind and loving and provident. There was a great deal of domestic felicity among the Indians, and also life long companionship, but it was more a matter of choice and affinity than social compulsion.

Betsy Chilloway was a handsome young squaw who had been praised so often that she realized her charms and made them the means of securing favors in which she delighted. She loved the wildwoods life as a true Indian, and the hunting cabin was her favorite place. Here, with the companionship of her husband alone, she dressed the skins of the animals he killed and feasted on the products of nature. In the hot ashes on the bed of stones before the cabin she could bake the most delicious corn cake and roast the birds, or the fish, or the rabbits, as they were brought to her door. The creek near by was the home of the most delicious trout that could be found in all the streams of the mountain. There were great quantities of them there, and they grew to a large size. Thus no one had better or more delicious living than this Indian family in their forest home. The cabin was made warm by the abundance of the furs or skins which they were accumulating all the time. Betsy had her traps for the smaller and more highly prized skins, and these she carried on her trips to exchange for the trinkets with which she adorned her person. In the warm mornings of the early autumn, when she had taken her bath in the clear water of the deep stream, and had thrown around her a deer skin of softest texture, and had put her ornaments of colored glass around her neck and hanging over her bared bosom, while her black hair, shaken out lightly, was falling over her shoulders, with arms and legs bare, and a bright smile of health and joy on her face, she was a realization of grace and loveliness that would have captivated any one of the old Greek artists. She knew that she was beautiful, and as her husband grunted his approval, she felt the happiness that comes from the innocent enjoyment of the charms with which nature had endowed her. If the white man had never come near with his temptations and allure-

ments this happiness would have continued, and the children of nature would have enjoyed the blessing of simple existence to the length of their days.

Out of this Eden of purity and joy, Betsy rambled until she came to the cities of men. She could manage her own canoe, and bidding her husband farewell and leaving him to take care of himself and ramble as he chose, she floated down the river with her bundle of skins and medicinal roots and strange mountain herbs to enjoy the praise of the white men and to get from them more ornaments. To her there was a strange charm in touching the life of a city. The elegance of the dress of the fashionable ladies of Philadelphia charmed her, and she loved to watch the expression of their faces as they dickered with her. She became well known to many of them, and they took her into their parlors and showed her their pretty things and awoke the spirit of envy in her heart. She seemed to be but a simple child of the forest. But Betsy was not the innocent child they supposed. She loved her own people. She loved the freedom and freshness of the forest. She loved to catch the fish in the warbling brook, and snatch from the trap the lynx, or otter, or fox. She loved to stand over the deer that had been brought down by her own hand and see the stream of blood flow from its throat as she plunged the knife deep into it. She loved to put her dainty little foot on the neck of the panther as its eyes were glazed in death when she had out-generated it, and enticed it to its doom. She loved to recount her adventures to the more peaceful Indian women camping in Philadelphia, or Bethlehem, and hear their words of praise. But above all she delighted in the praise of the warriors of her own tribe as they looked approvingly at her, and she knew in her heart they would be willing to do anything for her if she would only remain in their wigwams. Then she felt a spirit of hatred for the whites enter her heart, and the spirit of jealousy, because her own husband seemed to love the white people more than those of his own race. Then she became as treacherous as the panther she had slain. She did not like the Moravians overmuch. Their system of morality was too rigid and exacting for her. She enjoyed doing as she pleased and being answerable to no one. She was as free as the birds in the trees, or the fish in the streams, and as unconfined as the wind that waved the leaves of the forest. Hence, out of the cities of the white people, she fled back to her forest cabin to look at herself

in the mirror of the mountain spring, and to prove her freedom by spending days rambling whither her fancy led, supplying herself with food by her bow and arrows, or her quickly improvised traps, then resting on thick beds of moss, feeling that in all the range of mountains and woods there was nothing for her to fear, for it was her freedom and her home. When she felt like it she returned to the side of Chilloway, and then cooked his meals and helped dress his furs and deer skins.

When the war broke over the land and the Indian tribes threatened the extinction of the settlements, Chilloway remained true to the white people. He went to the Delaware with Colonel Potter's riflemen, and was in the height of his glory in the battle of Red Bank. Then he came home and served as a faithful scout for Colonel Kelly and Colonel Antes, and was as eyes for them in the desperately waged intrigues for life and home. But Betsy did not agree with her husband, and as Delilah of old, she sought from him what he knew, and then rambled to the chiefs of her race and gave them the news. She would rather have the scalps of the fairest dames and maids of Philadelphia hanging at her girdle than all the highly colored ornaments they could give her. These city ladies would have been utterly appalled if they could have looked within the passionate heart of the demure Indian beauty and have seen there the seething caldron of hate and thirst for blood that filled every part of her being. At length she ceased the double life she was living, and left her husband to go and live entirely with her own people. She would have a husband with a heart that was free from friendship for the white race. Thus she passed out of the valley and into the distant west, and the streams where she had fished, and the woods where she had hunted, knew her no more.

When the war was over and the white men began to come into the hunting grounds by the cabin of the lonely Indian, Chilloway went down to the Indiana and there built another cabin. But the charm of life was gone, and about the beginning of the new century some hunters found him lying dead in his cabin, alone. This was the penalty he had to pay for being true to the white people. No one but those acquainted with the strength of affection in the heart of an Indian can realize how great, to him, was the sacrifice.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

VENGEANCE EXACTED.

AFTER THE Big Runaway, Colonel Hunter sent an appeal to the Executive Council of the State for assistance, and in response Colonel Broadhead hurried up the river to Fort Muncy and took possession of the deserted country. The presence of an armed force encouraged many of the settlers to return and gather their harvests. Samuel Wallis, whose house stood within a few hundred yards of the Fort, returned with Colonel Broadhead to look after his crops on the Muncy farm. He wrote to Colonel Matlack, on the 24th of July, and complained bitterly of the conduct of Colonel Hunter in causing the panic and flight from the valley. He stated that Hunter, on hearing of the massacre at Wyoming, became so much alarmed that he ordered all the troops off the West Branch. This order resulted in the Big Runaway, as all the inhabitants became panic stricken immediately, abandoned their homes and fled. Wallis says that when he reached Sunbury with his family, he found that Hunter had removed his family and effects from Fort Augusta to a point further down the river, and was ready to fly himself at the slightest alarm. And had it not been for the arrival of Colonel Broadhead, Wallis was of the opinion that not ten families would have remained in the country. He was exceedingly anxious to have a few regular troops sent up the river, as he reposed but little confidence in the militia. Concerning them he wrote as follows: "Such confusion has already happened by trusting to the militia here that I can and do declare for myself that I will not stay a single moment longer than I can help after being assured that we are to be protected by them only. We were amused some time ago by a resolve of Congress for raising one hundred six months men in this county, and Colonel Hunter was pleased to assure the Council that the men would be readily raised, when he, at the same time, knew and was pleased to declare, in private conversation, that it was impossible

to raise one hundred men amongst people so much confused and alarmed. This kind of conduct from Colonel Hunter, as well as a number of other leading men, has brought us to the pass you now find us, and unless some speedy interposition in our behalf, I do again, with great confidence, assure you that we shall be no longer a people in this county, and when the matter will end God only knows.

The loss to the country by the Big Runaway was estimated to be £40,000.

The heroism of the women of the frontier is worthy of the finest strains of the poet's praise. They were worthy of the bravest men that ever shouldered a rifle for the defence of their households. They performed such deeds as belong to the history of the noblest race. In three short years they were plunged from comfortable homes and prosperous seasons to the depths of desolation and ruin. The awful burden began to be laid on them when their expert riflemen went to Boston to aid the cause of Massachusetts in the rising against the oppressions of England. The greater number of those who thus went away left their bones to bleach on the various battlefields of the Revolution. Then, when the Indian alarms were sounded, there was the necessity for every man to shoulder his rifle and be a guardsman for the valley; this took them away from their homes, except as for a few hours they returned to see their wives and little ones, and then hurry away to the post of duty. All this time the larder was shriveling and the prospect growing gloomier.

In February, 1777, the Council of Safety for the county found it necessary to order that, "no stiller in Bald Eagle township shall buy any more grain, or still any more than he has by him during the season." This shows the scarcity of food, for men will demand drink, though all else fail. This prohibitory law reveals the keen distress of the people. In May, 1778, Colonel Hunter writes to the President of the State in regard to the marching of certain classes of troops as follows: "These last classes would have marched before this only for want of provisions; as for meat there is very little to be had in this county, and that very dear. Bacon sells at 4s 6d @ pound, and flour at three pounds, ten shillings @ Hundred wt. We are scarce of Guns, not more than one-half the militia is provided with arms, and a number of them very ordinary. Our powder is exceeding bad,

and not fit for rifles in any shape. And as for flints, we can get none to buy." * * * This reveals the difficulty the settlers had in meeting the foe. Oftentimes the only use they could make of their rifles was to use them as clubs, and this was a poor weapon against the bow and arrow of the Indian, or the skillful throwing of the tomahawk, and yet these brave men did the best they could and died bravely battling for their own.

In many cabins there was a household experience similar to that which prevailed in the Antes home. In January of 1777, their son William was born. The baby was only six months old when the first murder by the Indians was perpetrated just across the river from the fort, and brought distress to the hearts of them all. Miller, Cady and Armstrong were killed, and their bodies formed the beginning of the graveyard that is still there on the top of the hill, and at that time just outside the walls of the fort, on a spot of ground overlooking the field on which they fell. In December following, one of the white men on Pine Creek, just in sight of the fort, was killed by the Indians and at the same time the little girl, Anna Maria, scarcely three years old, died within the stockade, and was laid away by the side of the slaughtered men, and thus marked this spot as the Antes burial ground for generations.

As the need of ammunition grew faster than the ability of the government to supply it, the settlers took the leaden weights from their clocks and melted them for bullets. The silent faces of these clocks told a pathetic story, and forecasted the silence that would brood over that entire valley for awhile. But the women never faltered. When the men were called away to stand as defenders, the women took down the sickles and went out into the fields and cut the grain, and threshed it, and made their own flour. They gathered the apples and the nuts, and stowed away the corn and hay for the cattle. They housed the stock, and tended them, and kept the place as if they were men. They learned practically something of the way the Indian women lived, and they did not hesitate, because they were the children of a different civilization. They did all that could be done to keep their homes and their little ones. In the valley, at this time, there were neither clergymen nor physicians; the housewife had all of it in her own hands. But they were brave and faced all these troubles with fortitude. They never gave up

until the command came from Colonel Hunter, at Fort Augusta, to abandon every thing and flee to the fort for life. Then they gathered what they could into their canoes, and on rafts, and in a body left the valley to the fury of the savages. What the results would have been to the inhabitants of the West Branch if they had not all left and fled, can be surmised from the next step of the Indians. While the Indians loved plunder and desolation, they were more eager for scalps than for all else. Hence when the people were gone, they had no sufficient incentive to remain, particularly since there were other places in which the people yet remained.

Immediately, the Indians left the West Branch and concentrated for an attack upon the settlements in the Wyoming Valley, where the Connecticut people had come in great numbers. Out of the Wyoming district a thousand men had gone to help fight the battles for the liberties of the country. At home there were left the aged, the children, and the disloyal Tories. One of the forts was garrisoned by Tories, who hastened to make common cause with the invading Indians. On the third of July the battle began, which ended in the most cruel and bloodthirsty massacre that had yet been known. A thousand homes were made desolate, and three hundred persons were either killed or taken prisoners. Such would have been the fate of the people on the West Branch if they had remained. When the news of this terrible calamity reached Fort Augusta, there was a panic that led many of the people to at once remove down the river to Paxtang and Donegal. Colonel Hunter, even, was greatly alarmed, and sent his family down the river and prepared to follow at a moment's notice. There were some men whose money was invested in lands, and who would be utterly ruined by giving up the valley to the enemy, who complained about the orders and fears of Colonel Hunter. But he had not a sufficiency of troops to stand an attack from a victorious foe, as the Indians on the North Branch, and the uncertainties of the Indian campaign had thus far proved that all was guesswork as to their numbers and nearness. There came the story of horrible cruelty and thirst for blood from every point on the frontier. It was not a time to dally with suppositions, but to preserve the lives of the people, if possible. On the 12th of July, Colonel Hunter sent the following appeal for aid, which

truly presents the terrible condition of the portion of the frontier that was under his charge.

“To His Excellency, the President and the Honorable the Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

“The calamities so long dreaded, and of which ye have been more than once informed, must fall upon this county if not assisted by Continental troop, or the militia of the neighboring counties, now appear with all the horrors attendant on an Indian war; at this date the towns of Sunbury and Northumberland, on the frontiers, where a few virtuous inhabitants and fugitives seem determined to stand, though doubtful whether tomorrow’s sun will rise on them, freemen, captives or in eternity. Yet, relying on that being who never forsakes the virtuous, and the timely assistance of the government which they have with zeal and vigor endeavored to support, they say they will remain so long as they can without incurring the censure of suicide. The carnage at Wyoming, the devastations and murders on the West Branch of Susquehanna, on Bald Eagle Creek, and, in short, throughout the whole county, to within a few miles of these towns, (the recital of which must be shocking) I suppose must have before now reached your ears; if not, you may figure yourselves men, women and children butchered and scalped, many of them after being promised quarter, and some scalped alive, of which we have miserable instances among us; people in crowds driven from their farms and habitations, many of whom have not money enough to purchase one day’s provisions for their families, which must and has already obliged many of them to plunder and lay waste the farms as they pass along. These calamities must, if not speedily remedied by a reinforcement of men from below, inevitably ruin the frontier, and incumber the interior counties with such numbers of indigent fugitives, unable to support themselves, as will, like locusts, devour all before them. If we are assisted to stand and save our crops, we will have enough for ourselves and to spare; you need be under no apprehension of any troops you send here suffering for want of provisions if they come in time, before the few who yet remain are obliged to give way. With men it will be necessary to send arms and ammunition, as we are ill-provided with them. Gentlemen, ye must all know that this county cannot be strong in men after the number it has furnished the

United States. Their applications to us for men were always complied with to the utmost of our abilities and with the greatest alacrity; should our supplications now be rejected, I think the survivors of us, if any, may safely say that virtue is not rewarded. I have only to add that a few hundreds of men, well armed and immediately sent to our relief, would prevent much bloodshed, confusion and devastation through many counties of this State, as the appearance of being supported would call back many of our fugitives to save their harvest for their subsistence, rather than suffer the inconvenience which reason tells me they do down the country and their, with their families, return must ease the people below of a heavy and unprofitable burden. These opinions I submit to your serious consideration. Signed, Samuel Hunter."

This appeal was heeded. How could it have been otherwise? It was not a fancy sketch, but the truth. Colonel Broadhead had been ordered to the relief of Wyoming. When he came to Sunbury and learned the condition of affairs, he saw that he could be of no service with his small number in the now desolated valley. He therefore hurried up to Fort Muncy and there stationed men at various points to protect the harvesters. He also sent out parties and scoured the country in search of any bands of Indians. He only had one hundred and fifty men, but with these he made such a disposition as to put new courage in the hearts of the settlers. Early in August Colonel Hartley arrived with three hundred of the State militia to guard the harvesters. Thus the people were encouraged to return and gather their crops. The sights that greeted the people on their return may be seen in that of the Antes family as an example.

The first to venture were small troupes of armed men, who endeavored to secure the horses and cattle that had been left. They found small bands of Indians still in the valley burning cabins, barns and outbuildings, and pillaging wherever they could. When they came to Level Corner they found the ruins of Robert King's home still smoking. When they came to Antes Fort they found that the Indians had failed to injure the stockade to any great extent, for the walls had been made so strong that the Indians dared not take the time to demolish them. From the stockade the smoke of the burning and burned homes along the valley could be plainly seen. The smoke stood over the fields of golden grain like pillars of cloud. The cabin home of Henry Antes, with the barns,

sheds, bins and mill, were all in ruins. There was not a building left standing. The atmosphere was laden with the odor of the burning wheat, of which there had been a large quantity stored in the mill. The scene was that of ruin—ruin, utter and complete. Antes had made so many improvements, and had filled his mill so full of grain, that the amount of capital invested was far greater than that of any other settler in the valley, and his loss was consequently greater. For all his labor and expense there was now nothing to show but blackened embers. But life was spared and courage remained, and the only course was to clear away the ruins and build again.

This, however, could not be done at once, for there was no security to those who had returned to harvest their crops. There were many of the settlers who made the attempt to save the products of the fields, for these the Indians could not take with them. They might burn them and thus deny the settlers the possession of them, but they could not carry them away. What the Indians wanted was scalps and prisoners. These graced their triumph when they returned to their native villages. An Indian might tell of the cabins he had burned and the fields he had destroyed, and his people would not know whether he was telling the truth or bragging. But when he exhibited the scalps, or the bodies of the prisoners, then the others had evidence which they could not dispute, and they honored their warrior according to the scalps that hung at his belt. These were the certificates of victory.

Under the protection of the soldiers some of the settlers went into their grain fields all too soon. The fate of young James Brady, one of the brightest of the young men in the valley, shows the dangers that lurked in every thicket and grove. The story is as follows:

John Brady, one of the captains in the same battalion with Henry Antes, built the fort at Muncy creek. He was one of the best men in the valley, and of unimpeachable patriotism. He was not afraid of any foe, as the affair with the Indians at Derr's shows. He had six stalwart sons, each one of them six feet in height and strong. One of these sons was James, and he was a representative young man, full of youthful spirit and daring. He was only twenty-one years of age, and something of a sport among the young gallants of the valley. He had a heavy head of remarkably red hair, of which he was very proud, and did it up with

great care. His strength, beauty and manliness made him a favorite with everyone. Whether as a warrior fighting the wily Indian foe, or a gallant paying attention to the ladies, he was equally a leader among the young men of the frontier.

On the eighth of August, 1778, Colonel Hartley, who was the commander of the soldiers that had been sent to the valley to protect it against the savages, sent eight men from Fort Muncy to a place near the mouth of the Loyalsock to reap the crops on the farm of Peter Smith. About a month previously the savages had made a descent on the home of Smith, and had brutally murdered his wife and four children. The crops were valuable, and the settlers cooped up in the forts were in need of them, hence the importance of saving them if possible. James Brady was one of the party that went to do the reaping. On account of his shrewdness and daring he was selected to be the leader of the party. They arrived at the field on Friday, and after posting their sentinels, proceeded to work. Everything was so quiet that they ceased to consider danger as imminent, and that night allowed four of the soldiers to return to the Fort. The next morning was quite foggy, but the men went into the field at an early hour and proceeded to their work, after stacking their guns where they could easily get them in case of need. They had been working about an hour when the sentinels were surprised to see a band of Indians stealthily approaching out of the fog-hidden woods. The sentinels fired their guns and ran towards the reapers, who were seized with a panic, and fled into the foggy forest away from the foe. Brady, however, did not flee, but sprang toward the place where the guns were stacked. Three Indians followed him, and one of them shot him in the arm as he was running. Another Indian fired at him, and would have shot him, but he fell over a sheaf of wheat and thus escaped the bullet. By this time he had reached the guns, and catching up one, shot the nearest Indian dead. Throwing the gun down he seized another, and killed another of the foe. By this time the other savages had come up and they surrounded him, yelling fiercely their terrible war whoops. For a few moments he fought them all, until one struck him in the head with a tomahawk, and another thrust a spear into him, then, stunned into almost insensibility, he fell, and they sprang upon him, and in a second had his scalp of beautiful red hair dripping with blood in their hands. It was a trophy of which

they were very proud. Then they had a lad who was with them strike a tomahawk in his head four times. After this, fearing pursuit, they fled.

An old man by the name of Jerome Vanness had come with the party to cook for them, and was in a cabin near the river side. He had hidden himself when he heard the firing, knowing that his life would not be spared if the Indians discovered him. Soon after the Indians fled, Brady recovered consciousness, and succeeded, by walking and creeping, in reaching the cabin of the old man. When he saw Brady coming and so terribly wounded, he came out from his place of concealment and devoted himself to dressing his wounds. Brady generously begged the old man to flee and save his life, but he refused to leave his companion, and helped him down to the river bank, where he brought him water to drink, which the wounded man constantly craved. Brady asked his friend to give him his rifle, and with this in his hand sunk down into sleep, while his friend watched over him.

As soon as the news of the affair reached the fort, Captain Walker mustered a party and they came to the scene of the tragedy. Brady heard them coming, and supposing they were Indians, sprang up, cocked his rifle and stood in the attitude of defence. It was a joyful discovery that friends had come. Then his strength gave way, and he begged them to take him to his mother at Sunbury. The entire party entered the canoe, and as rapidly as possible paddled down the river. Never was there a sadder party on the water than that. He lay in the bottom of the canoe with his head bandaged as the old man had fixed it, and his mind wandering in delirium. His one cry was for water, which he kept drinking with an insatiable thirst. While it gave him some degree of temporary relief, it could not meet the relentless drain that the constant outflow of blood was causing. The day gave way to the evening, and the evening to night, and yet they paddled on. It was about midnight when they reached the landing before the fort.

That day had been one of great anxiety to Mrs. Brady. She felt that some trouble was impending, and when the canoe was discerned on the water, realized that it bore sad news for her. She met it at the landing, and assisted in carrying her wounded son into the fort. It was one of the scenes so fre-

quent on the frontier during those terrible days of Indian warfare.

Five days the young man lingered, most of the time in the ravings of delirium. Then his consciousness returned, and he told them all about the attack and how the Indians had overcome him, then he died.

While every white man in the valley was ready to utter the vow of vengeance for this appalling murder, it was the strong arm and keen sight of his brother Samuel, that sent the bullet crashing into the brains of the red men, until this death was avenged many times over, and the avenger was recognized by the Indians as a scourge to their people.

Colonel Hartley was a brave soldier and a wise strategist. He saw the utter futility of fighting in this way. The way to clear the valley of Indians was to wage the war on them in their own country—life for life; home for home; squaw for squaw; this only would bring them to their senses. It was a desperate undertaking, following the successes the Indians had secured in their raids. But the brave officer marched his troops from Fort Muncy along the Sheshequin path up Bonser's Run, just below where Williamsport now stands, through Blooming Grove to Lycoming Creek, and up this creek until he reached the town of the Indian Queen, Esther, whose cruelty had been so signally manifested in the Wyoming massacre. The troops, led by Colonel Hartley, burned her town and blotted out her home, and carried back with them all her cattle and canoes. There were fifty head of cattle and thirty canoes. In his official report, Colonel Hartley said: "We waded or swam the river Lycoming upwards of twenty times. I cannot help observing that I imagine the difficulties in crossing the Alps or passing up Kennebec could not have been greater than those our men experienced for the time. I have the pleasure to say they surmounted them with great resolution and fortitude. * * * In lonely woods and groves we found the haunts and lurking places of the savage murderers who had desolated our frontier. We saw the huts where they had dressed and dried the scalps of the helpless women and children who had fell in their hands."

Still this did not restore safety. The Indians continued to lurk in the woods. The need continuing, there was a meeting called of the principal people of the valley, and Colonel

Hartley was requested to send a special commission to lay the case before the Executive Council. This was done, and Colonel Antes, Captain Chambers and Mr. Moffit were sent on that errand. As a result, early the following year there was organized and sent into the Indian country the expedition under the command of General Sullivan.

The following notes will show how thoroughly the soldiers avenged the lost homes of the white settlers, and taught the Indians the real consequences of predatory warfare.

In the officers' journals of General John Sullivan's expedition against the Indians in 1779, we find the following:

Lieutenant William Barton says: "Shamong, August 12th, 1779. An Indian town lying on the north of the creek, consisting of about thirty huts covered with bark. The Indians who inhabit it raise large fields of corn, beans, squashes, potatoes and pumpkins in abundance, which they subsist on in the winter season, with what deer and bears they kill, with other beasts of the woods. Our troops, after destroying their huts and fields of corn, (which we suppose contain about a thousand bushels,) returned unmolested to Tioga. September 5th, Kendai, (Seneca Lake, N. Y.) appeared to be the oldest town we have yet passed; here being considerable orchard—trees very old. Monday, September 6th. Here a great plenty of pea vines."

Lieutenant Erkuries Beatty says: "July 30, 1779. (Chemung and Tioga.) Nearly half of the army out to-day cutting up corn, which is in great abundance. Our brigade destroyed one hundred and fifty acres of the best corn that I ever saw, (some of the stalks grew sixteen feet high) besides great quantities of beans, potatoes, pumpkins, cucumbers, squashes and water melons. August 5th, Seneca Lake. The apple trees, which is a good number and very old, was either cut down or killed; likewise the peach trees, but there was not many of them."

Major John Burrows says: "Shemung, August 26th, 1779. The field contains about one hundred acres. Beans, cucumbers, simblens, water melons and pumpkins in such quantities, were it represented in the manner it should be, would be almost incredible to a civilized people. The corn grows such as cannot be equalled in Jersey. Middletown, August 3d.

The army don't march this day, but are employed in cutting down the corn at this place, which being about one hundred and fifty acres, and superior to any I ever saw. Some corn stalks measure eighteen feet, and one cob a foot and a half long. French Catharines, September 3d. There is a number of peach, apple and plum trees at this place. Six miles from Chemung, September 15th. It is judged that we have burnt and destroyed about sixty thousand bushels of corn and two or three thousand bushels of beans on this expedition."

Surgeon Jabes Campfield says: "September 13th, 1779. Black walnuts are very large and well shaped. The quantity of corn in the town is far beyond what anybody has imagined. I fear the method taken will be ineffectual for its destruction. Some of their houses are full of it hanging up to dry."

Major Jeremiah Fogg says: "September 1st, Seneca Lake. Night coming on we were obliged again to encamp without forage, excepting wild beans, of which our horses were very fond, and kind nature has been very bountiful in dispensing them throughout this country. The village has twenty houses and eighty large apple trees. September 6th. Encamped amidst a great plenty of pea vines."

Ensign Daniel Gookin says: "September 5th. 1779. Marched to T. This is an old settled place. A number of two hundred old apple trees and peach trees plenty."

Sergeant-Major George Grant says: "September 24th, 1779. Near Caiuga. This morning went to destroying corn, beans and orchards. Destroyed about fifteen hundred peach trees, besides apple trees and other fruit trees."

Rev. David Craft says in his historical address: "In this expedition the army destroyed two hundred thousand bushels of corn, besides thousands of fruit trees and great quantities of beans and potatoes."

"Thursday, September 14th. Previous to our march this morning parties were ordered out to destroy the corn, which they did, plucking and throwing it into the river. About eleven o'clock we took up our line of march and proceeded for Jenise, the last and capital settlement of the Seneca country; the whole crossed a branch of the Jenise River, and moved through a considerable swamp and formed on a plain the other side, the most extensive I ever saw, containing not less than

six thousand acres of the richest soil that can be conceived, not having a bush standing, but filled with grass considerably higher than a man. We moved up this plain for about three miles in our regular line of march, which was a beautiful sight, as a view of the whole could be had at one look, and then came to Jenise River, which we crossed, being about forty yards over, and near middle deep, and then ascended a rising ground, which afforded a prospect which was so beautiful that to attempt a comparison would be doing an injury, as we had a view as far as our eye could carry us of another plain beside the one we crossed, through which the Jenise River formed a most beautiful winding, and at intervals, cataracts, which rolled from the rocks, and emptied into the river. We then marched on through a rough country, but rich, until we arrived at the capital town, which is much the largest which we have yet met with in our whole route, and encamped about the same.

"At this place we found the body of the brave, but unfortunate Lieutenant Boyd, and one rifleman, massacred in the most cruel and barbarous manner that the human mind can possibly conceive, the savages having put them to the most excruciating torments possible, by first plucking their nails from their hands, then spearing, cutting, and whipping them and mangling their bodies, then cutting off the flesh from their shoulders by pieces, tomahawking and severing their heads from their bodies, and then leaving them a prey to their dogs. May his fate await those who have been the cause of his. Oh! Britain, behold and blush."

Jenise town, the capital of the Seneca Nation, is pleasantly situated on a rich and extensive flat, the soil remarkably rich and great parts well improved with fields of corn, beans, potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables. It contained one hundred and seven well finished houses.

"September 15th. This morning the whole army, excepting a covering party, were engaged in destroying the corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables, which were in quantity immense, and in goodness unequalled by any I ever yet saw. Agreeable to a moderate calculation, there was not less than two hundred acres, the whole of which was pulled and piled up in heaps, mixed with dry wood, taken from the houses, and consumed to ashes. About three o'clock P. M., the business was

finished, and the immediate objects of this expedition accomplished, viz., the total ruin of the Indian settlements, and the destruction of their crops."

The imposing appearance of this expedition filled the settlers with hope, and the story of its grandeur was told along all the streams of the frontier valleys. General Sullivan had a hundred and twenty boats that moved up the river in order as a fleet of war, and two thousand pack horses that were led along the shore in single file. They succeeded in breaking the Indian power in that part of the country forever. The Indians never recovered from the desolation inflicted on them. In the course of these expeditions it was discovered that the Indians were under the influence and direction of the Tories, and that these recreant white men displayed a cruelty that was not exceeded by the savages.

The later history of this part of Pennsylvania shows how deeply the minds of the settlers were affected by this fact. It laid the foundation for antagonism to these hated men that led to virulent opposition to even General Washington, when he seemed to favor their return to power or influence in the politics of the country. The political leaders who clasped hands with the returning Tories were regarded with distrust. Upon this distrust the people of the frontier turned from the patriotic Federalists and gave their voices to the Anti-Federalist cause, as it was expounded by their most brilliant leader, Thomas Jefferson.

These were terrible times throughout the whole country, and one part was not able to afford the assistance needed in another part. On September 11th, 1777, the battle of Brandywine was fought, and the army of General Washington was defeated. This enabled the British to enter and hold the city of Philadelphia. On October 3d the battle of Germantown was fought, and Washington was compelled to withdraw his forces. On December 11th Washington drew his army into winter quarters at Valley Forge. It was not until June, 1778, that the British left Philadelphia and transferred the seat of war to New York and to the States of the South. Hence, in the poverty and distress of the country, the demands for assistance from the frontier could not be heeded to any large extent. The people simply had to fight it out the best they could, and we have seen how they staked all rather than be-

come Tories, and thus save their property and lives. When the exodus down the river began there was no place of absolute safety to which they could go. They might run right into the arms of the British army, and find their condition but little, if any, better than on the frontier. Yet the Tulpehocking country seemed to be safe, and here many of the frightened ones found a temporary home.

The troubles that destroyed the home and resources of Henry Antes were at the same time as the troubles that drove his brothers from their homes toward the frontier, for the rage of the Tories in and about Philadelphia against the patriots was so strong that it was no longer safe for Colonel Frederick and William Antes to remain among them. Hence they turned their faces toward the north, and found a place to renew their public career at Northumberland. Here, in the reconstruction of affairs, they were at once found in the front, and commissions involving the greatest responsibilities were placed in their hands.

To realize the state of the valley, we must remember that the Indians destroyed everything that they could not remove. When the settlers fled, they carried with them what they could, which was not much but the essential things. The other things they buried, or hid in other ways, hoping thus to save them, but they could not efface the signs from the sharp eyed Indians, and thus these even were not safe except when the Indians were in too great a hurry to wreak vengeance upon them. When the settlers first came to the valley they brought the essential implements for housekeeping. They could do this, for then there was peace in the valley. But now, these were destroyed, and there were no neighbors to lend to them, and no stores to supply them, and no roaming peddlers to bring to them. If ever the ingenuity of man was required to solve the question of existence it was at this time. The rifle and the axe were the implements and tools and defences of the people. When they came at first, they had the chance of helping one another to build their cabins, but now they could not extend that help because they were all needing at once, and every man had his own family to shelter and at the same time dreading a return of the foe.

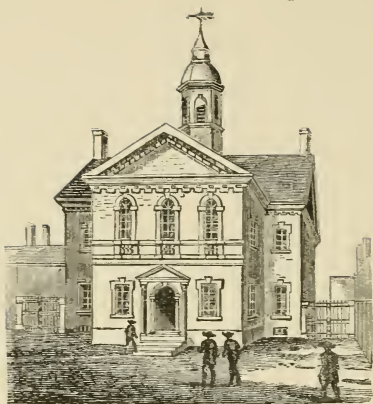
At the same time the finances of the country were absolutely untrustworthy. Paper money was comparatively worthless, and there was but little silver or gold in the country. The settlers

who had bought their farms and had spent everything they could beg or borrow to put them in shape for cultivation, were now burdened with debt and no resources in sight. They were poorer than they ever thought it possible for them to be. At first the most common forms of shelter had to suffice. Then the rudest cabins put together in a hurry to keep out the rain and the cold. Then came various devices to furnish cooking utensils, and clothing. The rehabilitation of the West Branch settlements tried the souls of men and women and proved the inherent greatness of their characters. While this was advancing, Henry Antes, as poor as his neighbors, cleared away the debris of the old mill and built another on the same foundation, and then, while he built his cabin, attended to the necessities of the people and gave them flour for their grain. As it had been, the Antes mill became the favorite resort of all people from far and near, where they transacted their business and learned the news of the march of events in the outside world.

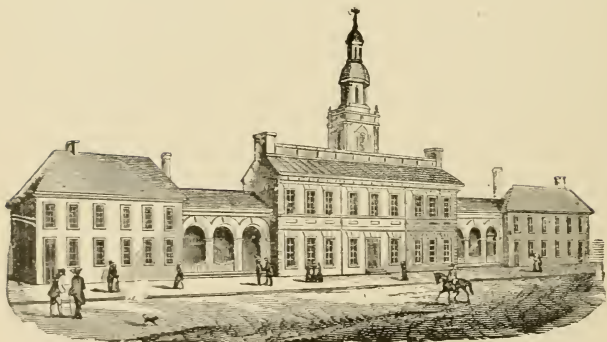
The poverty of the county is revealed in the report of the Commissioners to the Assembly, in 1780. William Clark and William Antes were the Commissioners. At the same time Frederick Antes was the Purchasing Agent for Northumberland county, with stations at Sunbury and Wyoming. William Antes had been a sub-lieutenant for Philadelphia county, and in the thoroughness and correctness of his accounts had proven to be so efficient that the difficult task of acting as Commissioner here was committed to him. The Assembly passed a law for furnishing supplies and the levying of a tax on each county to raise revenues for this purpose. To the consternation of the people it was found that the sale of all the personal property in the county would not be sufficient to pay the quota that had been laid on the county. Hence the Commissioners wrote the following letter to President Reed:

“Believe us, sir, it is with the utmost pain, and yet the greatest truth, that we are obliged to declare our utter inability to comply with the demands of that law. We now know that all the inhabitants in this county are not equal in number to those of some townships in the interior counties. Those who have property sufficient to support themselves are removed and gone. Shall, then, the quota of the county be levied on the miserable few that remain. Their whole personal property, if removed to a

place where hard cash could be had for it, and sold, would not pay the tax. The old returns will not do, as a rule, to lay a tax on absentees. The improvements are grown up, burnt or destroyed, the personal property removed, and now paying tax in the lower counties. As to the men for the supply of the Federal Army (if those already enlisted are excepted) they are not to be had here without taking the heads of families, and those we well know cannot be had, as no money whatever would induce them to abandon their families in our situation. We sincerely wish to render a ready obedience to all laws of the State, but in our circumstances it entirely puts it out of our power. We beg you, sir, to consider this as the language of Genuine Truth, extorted from us by Distressing Necessity, &c."



The State House as it was originally.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, 1776.

In the room to the left, on entering the hall, the Declaration of Independence was signed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CONFEDERATION.

THE DEVELOPMENT of freedom of speech, as a result of the mixture of races, is seen in the progress of social life in Philadelphia. The original idea of William Penn that his colony was to be a place where all men might have equality of rights and privileges, was never lost sight of by the people. The assumptions of those more favored in worldly goods than their fellows could not blind the people to their promised privileges. That one fundamental thought rested in the very substratum of the colony, and every ship load of human beings that came somehow absorbed it with the air they breathed. Some spoke the English language, some the German, some Welsh, some French, but the language of freedom they all spoke.

The State House was begun in 1729, out in the fields, beyond the built up portion of the city, and represented the progressive spirit of the colony. The next year Franklin returned from Europe and began the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, that what he knew might be known by the people. These two appeals to the thought of the people brought forth a large harvest in the cause of freedom. About the State House there was plenty of room. Men could shout and fling their arms about them and dance to their own ardor, and grasp the hands of their friends in the fellowship of interest. There was room to breathe the air of freedom and speak its praises, and sing its glories. When great questions came up, the people assembled in the State House yard, and there gave vent to their feelings. The aristocratic land barons were made to realize that the people were to be counted in all measures affecting the state. The cultured and courtly Governors found that Franklin, the leader of the people, was not inferior to any of them in the breadth of intellect or in the power to apply the principles of philosophy to public affairs.

The State House yard frequently held strangely assorted crowds of men. In one part there would be some Germans from the Perkioming, still wearing the loose, heavy garments they had purchased on the other side of the sea. They were talking in the language of the fatherland, and were a curiosity to those, who, though fellow-citizens, could not understand their speech. Near them would be a company of Welshmen, whose strange use of consonants, and deep-throated enunciation, was as curious to the Germans as the German was to the English. There were Quakers in their plain garb, side by side with the young Englishmen in their frills and scarlet vests, and fantastically arranged scarfs and hats. The Englishmen felt their importance, because they were the merchant class, and held the money power, and with their keener wits were actively engaged in winning to their view the people from the country who did not yet comprehend the English way of looking at public questions.

It was interesting in this old State House yard, when the people rose above the ideas of the leaders, and asserted themselves so as to take possession of the meeting and pass measures that suited their views. They may have been somewhat ignorant and perverse, but they were building the foundations of freedom, which, under the leadership of that same Franklin, would sweep away, not only the selfish rule of Proprietary government, but also that of King George, and every manner of authority that belonged to the nations beyond the sea.

The development of that spirit was seen, when in September, 1774, the first Continental Congress met in Carpenter's Hall, (which stood south of Chestnut street, between Third and Fourth). Then on January 23d, 1775, a Provincial Convention was held, and after the news came of the battle at Lexington, a Committee of Safety was appointed. Within ten days after the news came of the battle of Bunker Hill, a regiment of riflemen was on the way to Boston.

On the 4th of July the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and on the 8th, it was read to the thousands who filled the State House yard. On the 15th of July, a convention was called to prepare a constitution for the State of Pennsylvania, which was presented and ratified by the people on the 28th of September following. One of the members of this convention,

who thus revealed his part in the development of freedom, was Frederick Antes, whose influence among the Germans was at that time probably second to none. He was a commanding figure at this time of excitement and patriotism in the old State House yard.

It was not left to the States alone to assume the right to have a rule of government, but the exigencies of the times demanded that the central government should have power and means to win the fight against the strong foe that would oppress the colonies singly or unitedly. On June 12th, 1776, Congress appointed a committee to prepare articles of confederation. Their report was finally adopted November 15th, 1777. It will be noticed that at the time these articles were adopted, the British were occupying Philadelphia, the disastrous battles of Brandywine and Germantown had been fought, and the Continental Congress had been driven from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and from Lancaster to York. On November 20th, five days after the articles were adopted, Fort Mercer was abandoned to the British, thus giving them the undisputed control of the Delaware River. A few days later the American army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. This combination of unfortunate and discouraging events shows the bravery and unyielding determination of the American patriots. The first three articles of the confederation are as follows:

Article 1. The style of this confederacy shall be The United States of America.

Article 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

Article 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

When the report came that a French fleet was coming to the help of the Americans, the English Admiral withdrew from the Delaware and sailed for New York. Then, on the 18th of

June, 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia. The American Congress lost no time in returning to the place of its beginning. The Articles of Confederation were then taken up and on the 9th day of July, 1778, were signed by the representatives of thirteen States.

But the Confederation had only the mere semblance of a nation, and its greatest work was in relation to the debts and burdens of the people. It had no power to use compulsion to its decrees; it had no power of taxation. If the States responded to the demands of Congress and furnished the funds needed, all was well, but if the States refused, there was no redress for the despised Congress. The Confederation had no adequate control of foreign commerce, and thus revealed its subserviency to the various States. Again, it had no power to arrest and try delinquent individuals and assert its authority in their punishment. In all matters that were essential to the continued existence of a central government, the Confederation was entirely subject to the good will of the States. These States were little sovereignties. They were well organized, and possessed the power of compulsion. In the South there were the county organizations, and at the North there were the town meetings. The resources of the people were at the command of the States, and these preserved the peace, and regulated the affairs of their constituencies.

The war had left a large debt which the people were unwilling to pay. There were many reasons for this. In the progress of the war there were some men who thrived on the necessities of their fellows. They sold their products at high prices, and quickly turned these into permanent securities that left them rich at the close of the war. During the war the exigencies of the times led to the issue of continental currency, which became such a drag that it was said it required a wagon load of it to buy a wagon load of provisions. Yet at the time this was the money the people were compelled to receive. Of this money, in March, 1778, a dollar of coin was worth \$1.75 in paper. In September of the same year it was worth \$4.00. In March, 1779, it was worth \$10.00. In September of the same year, \$18.00; in March, 1780, \$40. At the last stage Congress provided for funding the money at the rate of \$40.00 to \$1.00.

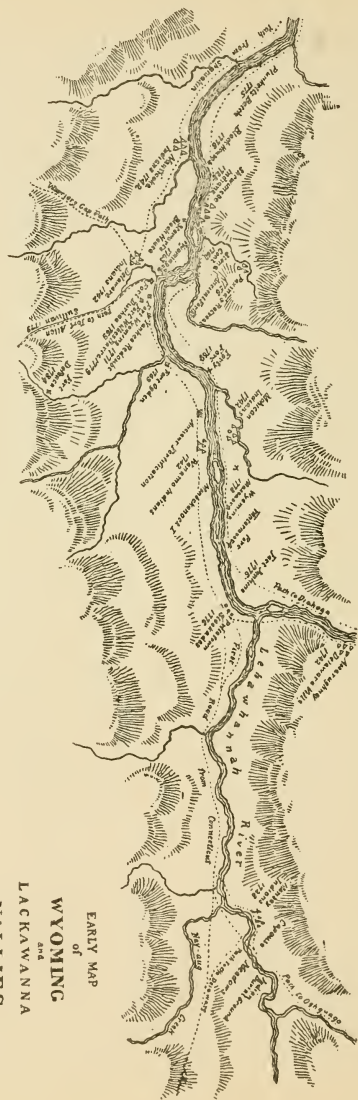
In the use of this money the shrewd did not keep it, but immediately converted it into real estate or other solid securities. Thus the rich grew richer and brought the masses of the people into their debt. Many of these successful people were Tories and merchants, who had kept out of the battlefields, and Quakers, who were conscientiously opposed to fighting, but not to taking advantage of good bargains. While, on the other hand, the people who fought for the freedom of the country, those who were at a distance from the markets, those who believed in the ability of the union to meet all its promises, the poor and the ignorant, those who had sold their farms, or their produce, or their labor, and had hoarded the paper money against a day of need, or had gathered it with the hope of buying a home with it as soon as enough was secured, now found it to be worthless, and their hopes entirely destroyed. This was the time for the lawyers to flourish. By the close of the war the farmers lost the market for their produce, and the soldiers, returning home, found no avenues of employment open, and debts staring them in the face on every hand. Obligations began to accumulate against their small land holdings, and everything was in a deplorably unsettled condition. Shay's rebellion, in Massachusetts, was a revelation of the feelings of the people. As they realized they were losing their homes through the losses consequent on the depreciation of the currency in which they had trusted, they vainly thought that if they closed the courts and kept them closed, process could not be obtained against them. In all the colonies there was the greatest distress, and many of the most patriotic of the people were reduced to a poverty from which they never recovered. History awakens our sympathy for the great men who gave their fortunes to establish the liberties of the country. But with these few, whose names are heralded in every story of the heroes of the Revolution, there were thousands from the coast cities to the most frontier settlements who had suffered just as severely, for they had lost all; and even more, for they had no friendly hands to assist them in regaining their homes or their position in society. Naturally this led to a general repudiation of debts, and one commonwealth after another was plunged into the abyss of ruined integrity. It was this condition of affairs that compelled the movement that resulted in the change from a Confederation to a government by Constitution.

The historian tells us that: "We who are accustomed to but one unit of value, and purchase with dollars and cents, can form but a faint conception of the difficulties that beset our ancestors in their money payments. The Constitution had not yet been framed. There was therefore no supreme authority, and no national currency based upon a universally recognized unit. In every State there were at least two units of value, the English pound and the Spanish milled dollar, which had been adopted by Congress in the early years of the Revolution. But the values of these standards were by no means common ones. The pound in Georgia contained 1547 silver grains; in Virginia it fell to 1289 grains, which was also recognized as the pound in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut and New Hampshire. In New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania and Maryland, it fell to 1031 and a quarter grains, while in New York and North Carolina it reached the minimum of 966. The pound being divided into shillings, and the shillings into pence, made the value of the penny far from equal in the different States. But the Spanish dollar was also in circulation, and was divided into shillings, Spanish bits or pistareens, Spanish half-bits or half-pistareens, coppers or pennies. A pistareen was understood to be the tenth of a dollar, and would correspond to about twenty, and a half-pistareen to about ten cents of our money. But these again were variable in value, for the number of shillings, and consequently the number of pence, to the dollar changed with the value of the pound. In 1784 the entire coin of the land, except coppers, was the product of foreign mints. English guineas, crowns, shillings and pence were still paid over the counters of shops and taverns, and with them were mingled many French and Spanish, and some German coins. Indeed, the close connection the colonies had held with the traders of the Spanish Indies and the nearness of the Spanish possessions at the mouth of the Mississippi and along the Gulf of Mexico, had made Americans familiar with all denominations of Spanish coins. They had long circulated freely among all classes of buyers and sellers. One of them, the Spanish milled dollar, had become as much a unit of value as the pound. Others were of great value, were carefully stowed away in secret drawers, or rolled in old stockings and hidden in the darkest hole in the attic, or buried under the boards of the floor, whence they emerged only as quarter day came round, or the taxes fell due. Such an one was the Johannes, always called

the joe, a gold coin worth sixteen dollars. Next to the joe in value was the doubloon, worth fifteen dollars. The half joe went for eight dollars, the double Spanish pistole at seven dollars and forty-eight ninety-sixths, and the pistole at half that value. The moidore was a six dollar piece. These, with the English guinea and half-guinea, the French guinea, the carolin, and the chequin, made up the list of gold coins. The small change, in which house-keepers paid for their daily purchases, was of silver, and among the silver coins were the Spanish milled dollar, the Spanish bit and half bit, the pistareen, the shilling piece and the sixpence. The copper coins were pennies, spoken of as coppers, and French sous. The value of the gold was pretty much the same the country over, but the dollar and the silver pieces regarded as fractions of a dollar, had no less than five different values. These values applied to no pieces which were not true and of full weight, for counterfeiters and clippers had long been busy, and had at last brought the coin to such a state that it passed by weight and not by tale. One of the favorite tricks of the counterfeiter was to turn the French sous into Spanish moidores. The sou was a small copper piece worth about a cent, so closely resembling the gold moidore that when it was gilded over it readily passed with the careless for the Spanish piece worth thirty-six shillings. Another trick was to wash coppers with silver and pass them off in a handful of change as English sixpences. But the clipping was worse than the counterfeiting, for scarce a coin, from a joe to a pistareen, could be found which had not at some time been subjected to the shears.

"In 1782, a great sum of gold coins came as a loan from France, and the Government had them all clipped to bring them to the current weight, and from this time it was not safe to take coin except by having it carefully weighed in the balances."

EARLY MAP
of
WYOMING
and
LACKAWANNA
VALLIES.



CHAPTER XXX.

WYOMING.

DESCRPTION OF *Wyoming in July, 1777.* Wyoming stood an extreme frontier—an outpost on the borders of the settlements of the savage enemy. To Sunbury, the nearest inhabited place on the Susquehanna, it was sixty miles; through the great swamp it was sixty miles; a pathless wilderness to Bethlehem or Easton. The warlike and bloody Mohawks, Senecas, and others of the Six Nations occupied all the upper branches of the Susquehanna, and were within a few hours sail of our settlements, which were exposed to constant attacks. Our pathways were ambushed and midnight gleamed with constant conflagration of our dwellings. Thus exposed, we stood as a shield to all the inhabitants below us. In this situation, every man might justly be regarded as on duty continually. Every man might have been considered as enlisted for and during the war. There was no peace nor security at Wyoming. The husbandman took his hoe in one hand and his rifle in the other, to his corn field. Several forts were built and garrisons steadily maintained. Such was the case with Jenkins' Fort, Forty Fort, and the Fort of Wilkesbarre. This was done by the people, by the militia, by common consent and common exertion. Three hundred miles from Connecticut, it was vain to ask assistance from her, exerting every nerve as she was for the common defence and the protection of her extensive and exposed sea-board.

Description two years later. The town consists of about seventy houses, chiefly log buildings; besides these buildings there are sundry larger ones, which were erected by the army for the purpose of receiving stores, large bake and smoke houses. There is likewise a small fort erected in the town, with a strong abatta around it, and a small redoubt to shelter the inhabitants in case of an alarm. This fort is garrisoned by one hundred men, drafted from the Western army, and put un-

der the command of Col. Zebulon Butler, Colonel of the Twenty-fourth Connecticut Militia. Two-thirds of the inhabitants are widows and orphans, made so by the Indians, and totally dependent on the public, and absolute objects of charity, being robbed and plundered of all their furniture and clothing.

Prof. Silliman's description of Wyoming: "The severe and long continued struggle for the possession of this country, which was sustained by the original Connecticut settlers, and the repeated attempts which were made to dispossess them by arms, sufficiently evince the high estimation in which it was held by all parties. The prize for which the settlers contended was worthy of all the heroism, fortitude, and long suffering perseverance, which during so many years they displayed—an exhibition of moral courage rarely equalled and never surpassed. Believing themselves both in a political and personal view to be the rightful proprietors of the country, they defended it to the death; and no one who now surveys this charming valley can wonder that they would not quietly relinquish their claim.

The first glance of a stranger entering at either end, or crossing the mountain ridges which divide it from the rest of the world, fills him with the peculiar pleasure produced by a fine landscape, combining richness, beauty, variety and grandeur. From Prospect Hill, on the rocky summit of the eastern barrier, and from Ross Hill, on the west, the Valley of Wyoming is seen in one view as a charming whole, and its lofty and well-defined boundaries exclude more distant objects from mingling in the prospect. Few landscapes that I have seen can vie with the Valley of Wyoming. Excepting some rocky precipices and cliffs, the mountains are wooded from their summit to their base. Natural sections furnish avenues for roads, and the rapid Susquehanna rolls its powerful current through a mountain gap on the northwest, and immediately receives the Lackawanna, which flows down the narrow valley of the same name. A similar pass between the mountains on the south gives the Susquehanna an exit, and in both places a slight obliquity in the position of the observer presents to the eye a seeming lake in the windings of the river, and a barrier of mountains apparently impassable. From the foot of the steep mountain ridges, particularly on the eastern side, the valley sweeps away with broad sweeping undulations in the surface, forming

numerous swelling hills of arable and grazing land; and as we recede from the hills, the fine flats and meadows covered with the richest grass and wheat complete the picture by features of the gentlest and most luxuriant beauty."

The Wyoming Controversy. The first grants of land in America by the crown of Great Britain were made with a lavishness which can exist only where acquisitions are without cost and their value unknown; and with a want of precision in regard to boundaries which could result only from entire ignorance of the country. In 1620 King James the First granted to the Plymouth Co., an association in England, a charter for the ruling and governing of New England in America. This charter covered the expanse from the forty-ninth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. There was an exception reserving from the grant all territories then actually in possession of the subjects of any other Christian prince or State. This exception operated in favor of the Dutch at Manhattan and Fort Orange, afterwards New York and Albany. The Plymouth Company, in 1628, granted to the Massachusetts colony their territory, and in 1631 to the Connecticut colony theirs; both by formal charters, which made their western boundary the Pacific Ocean. On the restoration of Charles the Second, he granted, in 1662, a new charter to the people of Connecticut, confirming the previous one and defining the southern one to be at a point on the coast one hundred and twenty miles southwest of the mouth of Narraganset bay in a straight line. In 1676 the same monarch granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the territory then claimed and occupied by the Dutch, and extending westward as far as the Delaware bay. The same year the Duke conquered it from the Dutch and took possession. A dispute arising between New York and Connecticut concerning their boundary, it was determined by royal commissioners, in 1683, who fixed upon the present line between those States. This, of course, determined the southernmost point in the boundary of Connecticut, which is not far from forty-one degrees north latitude. This line extending westward would enter Pennsylvania near Stroudsburg, pass through Conyngham, in Luzerne county, and cross the Susquehanna at Bloomsberg, in Columbia county, cutting off all northern Pennsylvania. In 1691, nineteen years after the date of the Connecticut charter, Charles II granted to William Penn the memor-

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able charter of Pennsylvania, by which the northern boundary of his province was fixed at the forty-second degree of north latitude, where it is now established. Here, then, was a broad strip of territory granted by the same monarch to different grantees. The lands, however, like other portions of the wilderness, remained in possession of the Indians, and the preemption right only was considered as conveyed by the charters. The different principles involved in the charter of the Connecticut colony and this Province necessarily produced an essential difference in the manner of acquiring the Indian title to the lands. In the colony the right of preemption was vested in the people; and the different towns in Connecticut were settled in successive periods by different bands of adventurers, who separately acquired the Indian title, either by purchase or by conquest, and in many instances without the aid or the interference of the commonwealth. In the province the preemption right was vested in William Penn, who made no grants of lands until the Indian title had been extinguished, and consequently the whole title in Pennsylvania was derived through the Proprietaries. In 1753 an association of persons, principally inhabitants of Connecticut, was formed for the purpose of commencing a settlement in that portion of the Connecticut territories which lay toward the province of New York. Agents were accordingly sent out for the purpose of exploring the country and selecting a proper district. The beautiful valley upon the Susquehanna river, in which the Indians of the Delaware tribe eleven years before had built their town of Wyoming, attracted the attention of the agents; and as they found the Indians apparently very friendly and a considerable portion of the valley unoccupied, except for purposes of hunting, they reported in favor of commencing their settlements at that place, and of purchasing the lands of the Six Nations of Indians residing near the great lakes, who claimed all the lands upon the Susquehanna. This report was adopted by the company; and as a general meeting of commissioners from all the English-American colonies was to take place at Albany the next year, in pursuance of his Majesty's instruction, for the purpose of forming a general treaty with the Indians, it was considered that a favorable opportunity would then be presented for purchasing the Wyoming lands. When the general congress of Commissioners assembled at Albany, in 1755, the agents appointed by the Susquehanna company attended also; and

having successfully attained the objects of their negotiation, obtained from the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, on the 11th of July, 1754, a deed of the lands upon the Susquehanna, including Wyoming and the country westward to the waters of the Allegheny. In the summer of 1755, the Susquehanna company, having in the month of May preceding procured the consent of the legislature of Connecticut for the establishment of a settlement, and, if his Majesty should consent, of a separate government within the limits of their purchase, sent out a number of persons to take possession of their lands at Wyoming; but finding the Indians in a state of war with the white people, the settlement of the country was at that time deemed impracticable.

A general truce having been effected with the Indians, a company of about two hundred persons from Connecticut arrived at Wyoming in August, 1762, and commenced their settlement at the mouth of a small stream about one mile above the Indian town of Wyoming. After having cleared land, sowed some wheat and concealed some tools, they returned to Connecticut for the winter. In the following year these adventurers returned to the valley with their families and resumed their labors, the Indians appearing to be perfectly friendly. The Delaware chief, Teedyuscung, a favorite with his own people and disposed to be on good terms with the whites, had incurred the enmity of the Six Nations. A party of them during this year stole into the valley and murdered him, and charged the deed upon the Connecticut settlers. The latter, unconscious of the charge and trusting to the friendly disposition thus far manifested by the Indians, were entirely unprovided with arms.

In his history of the Lackawanna Valley, Dr. Hollenback says: "The complaints of Teedyuscung, nor the threats of Lieutenant Governor Hamilton were hardly necessary, as the next year (1763) witnessed the murder of the King of the Delawares in his simple cabin by the river side, and the flight or massacre of the defenceless yeomanry at Wyoming. When Teedyuscung sank the tomahawk into the skull of the offending Iroquois warrior on his way to Easton, in 1758, unavenged and apparently unnoticed at the time, he wrote his own death-warrant in the blood of the fallen chief. Indian revenge slumbers only to increase its intensity. Under the garb of friendship, he was visited at his village by some warriors of the Six Nations

from the upper branches of the Susquehanna, plied bountifully with liquor, of which he was passionately fond, and while thus inebriated in his wigwam, helpless, asleep and alone, the celebrated and venerable chieftain perished in the flames on the night of April 19th, 1763. His own dwelling and twenty others surrounding it, had been set on fire simultaneously, by these emissaries from the Six Nations, who thus sought and found revenge upon the unforgotten and unresisting offender.

"Some four months previous to this the Yankees had returned to the valley with their families, bringing along cattle, sheep, hogs, and grain sufficient to last them until the coming harvest. Traffic and fur trading had sprung up with the surrounding tribes, with whom the most friendly and harmonious relations had hitherto supposed to have existed. When suddenly, on the afternoon of the 15th of October, while the farmers were hard at work in the field, unconscious of approaching danger, they were surrounded by a party of Indians, who massacred about twenty persons, took several prisoners, and having seized upon the live stock drove it toward their town. Those who escaped, hastened to their dwellings, gave the alarm to the families of those who were killed, and the remainder of the colonists—men, women and children—fled precipitately to the mountains, from whence they beheld the smoke arising from their late habitations, and the savages feasting on the remains of their little property. Thus by one stroke, seldom surpassed in suddenness and atrocity, every living white person was swept from Wyoming in an hour, and the valley again left in the sole occupancy of the Indians.

"Their removal and destruction at this time, if more vindictive and cruel, was no more certain than that vouchsafed them by the Provincial Government, had a few more days of quiet husbandry been allowed them by the Indians. On Tuesday before the massacre, October 17th, 1763, Major Clayton marched to Wyoming to carry out the instructions of the Provincial Government. He met with no Indians, but found the New Englanders who had been killed and scalped a day or two before he got there. They buried the dead—nine men and one woman—who had been most cruelly butchered; the woman was roasted, and had two hinges in her hands, supposed to have been put in red hot, and several of the men had awls thrust into

their eyes, and spears, arrows, pitchforks, &c., sticking in their bodies. Major Clayton's men burned what houses the Indians had left and destroyed a quantity of Indian corn. * * * * Nothing whatever was done by the authorities of Pennsylvania toward punishing, or even rebuking, the authors of this preconcerted destruction of life and property."

It should be remembered that the Indians never gave up their claim to this valley, and hence justified their means used to prevent the white men from occupying it, as they alone were owners of the land.

"No further settlement was made until the year 1769. In the meantime, the Delaware Indians, those who were still friendly to the whites, removed to Wyalusing, and attached themselves to the Moravian mission there. After the peace between France and Great Britain, in 1763, and a cessation of hostilities on the part of the great nations of northwestern Indians, in 1764, the opportunity was seized by the English colonies to cultivate a more friendly intercourse with the Indians and to fix a definitive boundary to the purchases made at various times. A general treaty was accordingly held for that purpose at Fort Stanwix, near the Oneida Lake, in October, 1768. At this treaty the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania procured a deed from the Six Nations, dated November 5th, 1768, for all the lands lying within the province of Pennsylvania which had not been previously purchased by the Proprietaries. This purchase included Wyoming and all the lands previously sold by chiefs of the same nations to the Susquehanna company.

"After the conclusion of this purchase, the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania sent to Wyoming a party of settlers, who were directed to lay out the lands there into two manors for the use of the Proprietaries. One on the east side of the river, extending from Nanticoke Falls to Monokony Island, and from the river nearly to the foot of the mountain, including the old Wyoming town, was called the manor of Stoke, and the other on the west side, nearly of the same extent, was called the manor of Sunbury, and a lease of seven years was given to three of the principal persons, whose names were Charles Stewart, Amos Ogden and John Jennings. These persons were directed to take possession of the lands there and to defend themselves and those under them against all enemies whatever.

"On the 8th of February, 1769, a company of forty persons from Connecticut arrived at Wyoming, and found Stewart, Ogden and Jennings in possession of the improvements which they had previously made there, and in which they had attempted to secure themselves by the erection of a block house at the mouth of the creek. Having ascertained that the Pennsylvania party claimed the lands under grants from that province, and that they refused to give up to them their improvements, they built small buildings of logs on different sides of the block house, by which means they intercepted all communication with the surrounding country, and entirely invested the Pennsylvania garrison. Having failed in his hopes of reinforcements, Ogden proposed to the Connecticut people an amicable settlement of their respective claims, and invited some of the leaders of the Connecticut party to the block house to agree upon the terms, three of whom repaired thither for that purpose. They were immediately seized by Jennings, who was Sheriff of Northampton county, and having conducted them to Easton, they were thrown into jail until sufficient bail could be procured for their release.

And now commenced a bitter civil war, which lasted, with alternate successes of the different parties, for upwards of six years. In vain were the two colonial governments of Connecticut and Pennsylvania engaged in negotiations to adjust the question of jurisdiction. In vain had the Crown been appealed to for the same purpose, and in vain was the interposition of other colonial authorities invoked for that object. Now the colonists from Connecticut were increased by fresh arrivals and obtained the mastery; and now again, either by numbers or stratagem, did the Pennsylvanians become lords of the manors. Forts, blockhouses and redoubts were built upon both sides; some of which sustained regular sieges. The settlements of both parties were alternately broken up, the men led off to prison, the women and children driven away, and other outrages committed. Blood was sometimes shed in this strange and civil strife, but, considering the temper that was exhibited, in far less quantities than might have been anticipated. Deeds of valor, and of surprising valor, were performed. But strange to relate, notwithstanding these troubles, the population of the valley rapidly increased, and as the Connecticut people waged the contest with the most indomitable reso-

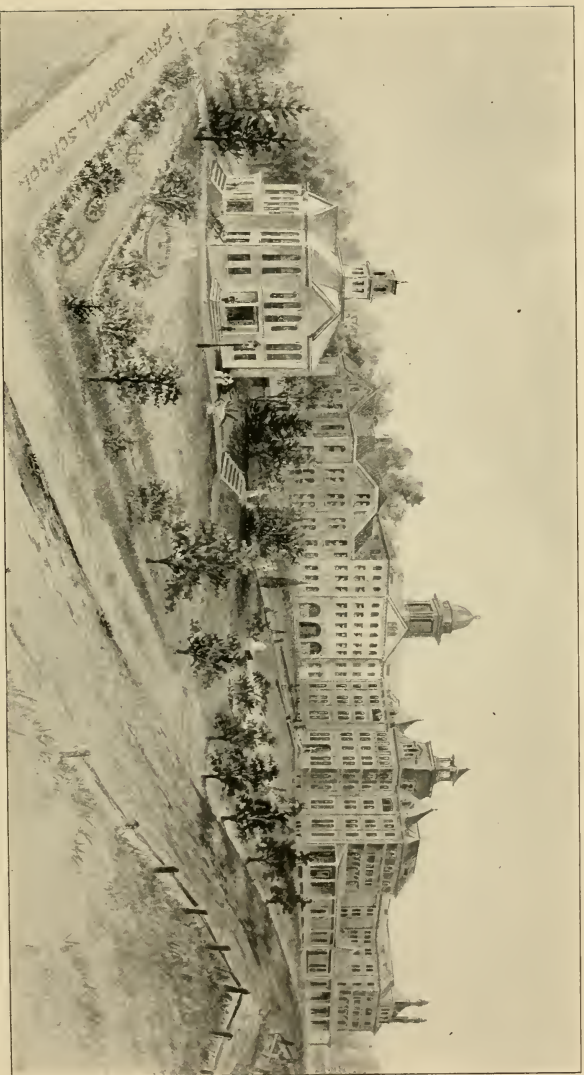
lution, they, in the long run, came nearest to success. The Pennsylvanians having sent a large force against the settlement under Colonel Plunket, which was ingloriously defeated, no further military operations against it were attempted from that quarter until after the Revolution. Meantime the settlements had been greatly extended and several towns designated and surveyed. Until the year 1774, the people had lived under laws of their own enacting, but their population had now become so considerable that a more efficient government was judged expedient. An application to be taken under the immediate government of Connecticut was attended with success, and under the general name of Westmoreland the valley of Wyoming was annexed to the county of Litchfield, in the State of Connecticut. Zebulon Butler, Esq., a gentleman who had served with credit in the French war, and Nathan Dennison, Esq., also a gentlemen of character, were appointed justices of the peace."

CHAPTER XXXI.

PLUNKET'S INVASION.

THE BEAUTIFUL lands along the Susquehanna in the Muncy bottoms attracted the attention of surveyors and speculators at an early day, because of the richness of the soil and the ease which it might be improved. The Susquehanna company, in April, 1769, passed a vote to send more than five hundred settlers there, of whom three hundred were to have lands as a gratuity, and the surveyors were instructed to lay out several townships on the West Branch for that purpose. In 1771, two of these townships were surveyed, and called Charlestown and Judea. In May, 1775, John Vincent, who resided on the West Branch, was appointed a justice of the peace for Litchfield county, Connecticut. In August, with several others, he came to Wyoming and induced a number of persons to go to the West Branch, settle there, and thus extend the jurisdiction and authority of Connecticut. In September about eighty went there for the purpose of peaceably settling on these lands. Their coming aroused the fears and the anger of the Penns, and the government ordered Colonel William Plunket, the presiding Magistrate, to gather the militia and break up these intruding settlements.

At this time the spirit of war was in the land. The battle of Lexington had taken place April 19th, and Bunker Hill, June 17th. Washington had been appointed the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and Congress had voted to raise and equip twenty thousand men. Although news traveled slowly, this kind of information went like lightning throughout the land, and all the people showed a desire to rise against the oppression of the mother country. To the extreme limits of the frontier the militia were called out, and every man that could bear a rifle, even though not supplied with one, entered into the service of his colony. Thus there was no difficulty in sending an active body of men to drive out the intruders. As to the real merits of the case, the people were not informed; they acted on what was commanded them



STATE NORMAL SCHOOL, at Bloomsburg, Pa.

from the government. The result was that one life was lost, several of the Connecticut men were wounded, their buildings were burned, their property was distributed among the conquerors, the women and children were sent to Wyoming, and the men were taken to the jail in Sunbury. This victory whetted the appetites of the valiant militia, and they were ready for more of the war.

Thus far in the controversy between the colony of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, every expedition against Wyoming had been of a civil character. There was a great parade of force, but that was the most of it. The success of Plunket in destroying the settlements on the West Branch revealed the way in which the affair at Wyoming might be settled. Wyoming at this time is thus described: "Three years of tranquil enjoyment had increased the number of settlers at Wyoming, while unremitted industry upon a prolific soil had diffused throughout the valley most of the necessities, many of the conveniences and some of the luxuries of life. Abundant food and clothing were enjoyed in every cottage. Numerous herds of cattle grazed upon the mountains. Hill and meadow were spotted with flocks of sheep. The flats, nearly cleared, yielded thirty and forty fold the seed that was sown. School houses were erected in every district. The Sabbath was kept with Puritan strictness. Congregated in convenient places the people listened to sermons from their gospel ministers. Prayer ascended to the Most High for grace in spiritual matters, and His protection in their secular concerns; while

They chant their artless notes in simple guise;
They tune their hearts, by far the noblest aim:
Perhaps Dundee's wild warbling measures rise,
Or plaintive Martyrs, worthy of the name."

Mr. Miner says: "The complete, perhaps easy, conquest and desolation of the Muncy settlement, instead of satisfying, only rendered more eager the Pennsylvania land holders to strike a decisive blow against Wyoming. Colonel Plunket had returned, his brow wreathed with victory, and a long line of Yankee prisoners graced his triumphal entry into Sunbury; while some of his followers, enriched by so much plunder, obtained with scarce a contest, were desirous of trying their fortunes in a new enterprise on a more extended scale, offering to their successful arms an hundredfold more valuable reward. More elated, per-

haps, than wisdom would have justified, proud and flattered for what he had already achieved, Colonel Plunket was told by others, and seems not to have doubted himself, that he was the man for whom the honor had been reserved of rescuing Wyoming from the unprincipled encroachments of the moss trooping Yankees.

"The preparations that were made alarmed the Wyoming settlers, and they appealed to their government. On November 3d, the Governor of Connecticut laid letters before the Council, which stated that the Pennites, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, were about to come, five hundred in number, armed, to drive off the Connecticut settlers from the Wyoming country. The Council viewed it as having a most dangerous tendency to break the union of the colonies, and esteemed it a plan probably concerted by enemies, with that view. The Governor was desired to address Congress on the subject, and endeavor to have the matter quieted. On Saturday, the 4th of November, having been apprised of the destruction of Charlestown and Judea, Congress came to the following resolution: The Congress, considering that the most perfect union between all the colonies is essentially necessary for the just rights of North America, and being apprehensive that there is great danger of hostilities being commenced at or near Wyoming, between the inhabitants of the colony of Pennsylvania and those of Connecticut: Resolved, That the Assemblies of said colonies be requested to take the most speedy and effectual steps to prevent such hostilities.

"On the 7th of the month, in reply to the resolution, an evasive verbal answer was made through Mr. Dickinson, 'Desiring to know on what evidence the Congress grounded the apprehension therein expressed of hostilities commencing at or near Wyoming between the inhabitants of the colony of Pennsylvania and those of Connecticut.'

"During the continuance of the first Pennymite and Yankee war, from the commencement of 1769 to the close of 1778, it will be remembered that every expedition against Wyoming was of a civil character. Sheriffs Jennings and Hackline being ostensibly the chief officers on duty, merely supported by Captains Ogden, Francis, Dick, Clayton, Morris and Ledlie, with their several military companies, the burnished musket, the glittering bayonet, the four-pounder, the whole martial ar-

ray being simply an appurtenant to a peace officer, while he should serve a civil process. The same policy was again assumed. Colonel Plunket, with his seven hundred armed men, his train of boats, with store of ammunition, the leading and largest one armed with a field-piece ready for action, on board, or to be landed, were the mere accompaniments of William Cook, Esq., the High Sheriff of Northumberland county, whose business at Wyoming was to arrest two or three individuals on civil writs.

"A high degree of excitement prevailed on both sides. Several boats from Wyoming, trading with the settlements below, were seized on passing Fort Augusta, and their cargoes confiscated. Early in December, his preparations having been completed, Colonel Plunket took up his line of march, the weather then being mild, the river free from ice, a matter extremely unusual at that season of the year."

"Justly alarmed at these formidable preparations, the Wyoming people dispatched an agent to state the condition of affairs before Congress and solicit their friendly interposition. But while calling on Congress the inhabitants were far too wise to omit placing themselves in the best possible posture of defence. The military were reviewed. As there was no public magazine of provisions, every man able to bear arms was directed to hold himself in readiness to march at a moment's warning, his arms in order, with all the ammunition requisite for a week's muster, and provisions for at least three days. Scouts sent out for the purpose returned, one every day, with information of the advance of the enemy, who were coming up strong and confident of success. The cruelty of the contemplated attack was sensibly felt, intended, it was not doubted, like that on the Muncy settlement, to effectuate the entire expulsion of the whole people. It being in the midst of winter, those given the least to despondence, looked to the probable issue with extreme inquietude, for defeat would assuredly devote the valley to flames, and the inhabitants to famine. Seven hundred men! nearly double the force Westmoreland could bring into the field. Of those who had taken the Freeman's oath, the whole number amounted to two hundred and eighty-five, and of these several came from the Lackawaxen settlement, forty miles east of Wyoming, a few from Coshutunk, on

the Delaware, and many aged men were on the list. There were probably in the valley twenty or thirty persons like David Meade, holding a Connecticut right, yet in heart and hand, if need be, being secretly Pennsylvania landholders, who, if they took no open part, wished success to the enterprise of Plunket, and at a proper moment would have lent their efficient aid in his behalf. These, of course, never took the Freeman's oath. The young men from fifteen to twenty-one rallied with spirit on the occasion. On the 20th of December, the invading army was announced as having arrived at the mouth of Nescopeck Creek, making their way now more slowly, as the ice was gathering in the river, and checking the passage of their boats. Never did more earnest prayers ascend to Heaven for snows of Lapland to impede the march of the army, and the ice of the Arctic Circle to arrest their voyage."

Again Congress interposed, and on the 20th of December, adopted the following most important proceedings: "The Congress, taking into consideration the dispute between the people of Pennsylvania and Connecticut, on the waters of the Susquehanna, came to the following resolution: "Whereas, a dispute subsists between some of the inhabitants of the colony of Connecticut, settled under the claim of the said colony, on land near Wyoming, on the Susquehanna River, and in the Delaware country, and the inhabitants settled under the claim of the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, which dispute, it is apprehended, will, if not suspended during the present troubles in the colonies, be productive of pernicious consequences, which may be very prejudicial to the common interests of the United Colonies, therefore Resolves, That it is the opinion of this Congress, and it is accordingly recommended, that the contending parties immediately cease all hostilities and avoid every appearance of force until the dispute can be legally decided. That all property taken and detained be immediately restored to the original owners; that no interruption be given by either party to the free passing and repassing of persons behaving themselves peaceably through the disputed territory, as well by land as by water, without molestation of either persons or property; that all persons seized and detained on account of said dispute on either side, be dismissed and permitted to go to their respective homes, and that things being put in the same condition they were before the late

unhappy contest, they continue to behave themselves peaceably on their respective possessions and improvements until a legal decision can be had on said dispute, or this Congress shall take further order thereon, and nothing herein done shall be construed in prejudice of the claim of either party."

"But they came too late to arrest the attack of Col. Plunket, whose force had arrived on the 23d, at the southwestern opening of the valley. Colonel Zebulon Butler, who commanded the Yankees, by the most strenuous exertions had mustered about three hundred men and boys, but there were not guns enough to arm the whole, and several appeared on the ground with scythes fastened on handles, projecting straight as possible—a formidable weapon in the hands of an active soldier if they should be brought to close quarters, but otherwise useless. These weapons the men called, sportively, "the end of time." On the night of the 23d he encamped on a flat near the union of Harvey's creek with the river. From this point he despatched Major Garret, his second in command, to visit Colonel Plunket with a flag, and desire to know the meaning of his extraordinary movements, and to demand his intentions in approaching Wyoming with so imposing a military array. The answer given was, that he came peaceably as an attendant on Sheriff Cook, who was authorized to arrest several persons at Wyoming for violating the laws of Pennsylvania, and he trusted there would be no opposition to a measure so reasonable and pacific. Major Garret reported that the enemy outnumbered the Yankees more than two to one. 'The conflict will be a sharp one, boys,' said he; 'I, for one, am ready to die, if need be, for my country.' Things wore an aspect different from what they had done formerly. Men, then, were almost the only inhabitants. Now the valley abounded with old men, women and children, brought out by the confidence inspired by three years of peace and prosperity. It was a season of gloomy apprehension."

"Colonel Butler was humane as he was brave, politic as he was undaunted. Several positions existed below the Nanticoke falls where the river leaves the valley, and takes its way for four or five miles between precipitous mountains, where a stand might have been made with almost certain success. It was thought better, however justifiable as would have been such a course, to await the attack within the valley itself. Orders were also given to this effect, not to take life unless rendered unavoidable in self defence.

Leaving Ensign Mason Fitch Alden, with eighteen men, on the ground where he had bivouacked, Colonel Butler retired in the morning of the 23d, and detached Captain Stewart with twenty men across to the east side of the river, above Nanticoke falls, with orders to lie in ambush and prevent any boat's crew from landing on that shore. On the morning of the 24th, about 11 o'clock, Ensign Alden was apprised of the approach of Plunket and his army, and retiring slowly and in order, was followed by their vanguard, who came up with martial music playing. Keeping at a respectful distance, no shot was fired from either side, and Alden, joining Colonel Butler, reported the approach of the foe. Displaying his column on the flat just abandoned by the Yankees, Colonel Plunket directed a spirited advance in pursuit of Alden, not doubting but that the main force of the Yankees was near and the hour of battle had come. In less than thirty minutes the advancing line was arrested by the word, 'Halt!' and Plunket, who was in the front a little on the right, observing Colonel Butler's position, was heard to exclaim: 'My God, what a breast-work!' "

"Harvey's creek, coming in from the north, cuts the high mountain, which here approaches the river, deep to its base. A precipitous ledge of rocks from near the summit runs southerly to the river, presenting to the west by south a loftly natural barrier for a mile along the ravine, and where the defence was not perfect Colonel Butler had made it so by ramparts of logs, so that it would require a powerful, as well as bold, enemy to dislodge him. Nothing could have been more perfectly military than the selection of the spot and the whole preparation of defence. So it was regarded by his soldiers. Mr. John Carey says in respect to the conduct of Colonel Butler in all that affair: 'I loved the man; he was an honor to the human species.' Such a declaration speaks the merits of Colonel Butler in language more impressive than the most labored eulogium. To take life was not the object, but orders were given for a general discharge all along the line of the defence by platoons, so as to impress Colonel Plunket with a proper idea of the strength and spirit of its defenders. No one was hurt, but considerable confusion was seen to prevail in his ranks as Plunket's men recoiled from the formidable breastwork. A boat was forthwith despatched by him, with a number of soldiers, to the opposite shore, it being the intention of the invaders to cross

over and enter the settlement by a way apparently less obstructed, for Sheriff Cook to serve his civil process. The passage of the boat and crew was watched by both parties with intense anxiety. A few minutes decided its fate. As it approached the shore, Captain Stewart opened a fire, which wounded one man and killed a dog that was on board, probably specially aimed at, when, instantly pulling their oars with a will, the men gained the suction of the falls, through which they sped among the breakers with the rapid flight of an arrow, fortunately without further injury.

Thus closed the battle for the day. Colonel Plunket retired and encamped on the ground occupied by Colonel Butler two nights previously. Early on the ensuing morning the contest was renewed, Colonel Plunket returning to the attack, and determining to outflank the Yankees, while at the same moment he should storm the breastwork. His troops displayed, they approached the line of Yankee defence, covering themselves by trees and loose rocks which lay below, and opened a spirited fire all along the line. While he thus assailed Colonel Butler in front, a detachment of his most alert and determined men was sent up the mountain on the left by a rapid march, concealed as much as possible, to turn the right flank of the Connecticut people. But this danger having been foreseen and guarded against, the flanking party was repelled. During this contest several lives were lost and a number on both sides wounded; how many, no record has been kept. Finding Colonel Butler's position too strong to be carried by storm, Colonel Plunket concluded his rash enterprise by a retreat. On Christmas day he withdrew his troops, they marching as they had come up, on the west side of the river. In the meantime a party of the Yankees followed on the east side with a view to capture one of the boats, but Mr. Harvey, who was a prisoner on board, calling to them not to fire, for they might injure their friends, they returned and left the retreating army to pass down without further pursuit. However zealous Colonel Plunket and some of his troops may have been, the great body of them were extremely indisposed to adopt the harsh measures proposed against the Connecticut people. Though zealous for the rights of Pennsylvania, an impression prevailed that the Connecticut people, though in error, honestly believed their title good, and it was thought by most of them that some peaceable mode of settling the controversy would be preferable to a resort to violence and arms."

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE MASSACRE.

FOUR DAYS after the retreat of Colonel Plunket, the entire settlement at Wyoming came together in Town Meeting. This was a system of government that was equal in importance to the Wittenagemote of the ancient Saxons. Although the settlers of Wyoming had a bad name for lawlessness and hilarity, they were the descendants of Puritans, and maintained, to a degree that was surprising, the restrictions in social affairs that belonged to the times of their fathers. Few amusements were allowed, but there were some that were considered allowable, even though they did test the strength and endurance of the competitors. At Town Meeting, while those interested in the affairs of the town soberly gave themselves to law-making and the public good, the younger men indulged in the sports that tried their strength and nerve. They threw the bar and rolled the bullet, and wrestled standing face to face, the right hand in each other's collar, the left, hold of each other's elbow, the play with the feet, and the expert trip and twitch, afforded a fine opportunity to display activity and skill. Or the parties took each other round the back, seizing by the waist-band, the hands interlocked, and then came the less neat and scientific, but more arduous struggle, the result depending greatly on strength. There was wrestling, rough and tumble, and foot racing by the lads. Of course, there were their heroes, who did wonderful things. One of these was William Hibbard, who would cause a twine to be stretched so high that he could pass under it just touching his hair, then stepping back a rod or two, he would leap like a deer, so light, so airy, as scarcely to touch the earth, and clear it with ease at a bound. The victory over the Pennsylvania forces was thus turned into especial rejoicing, and the pride of the settlers ran high. But this was only the beginning of their real trouble, for the war was just beginning, and it was



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destined to drench their fair fields with the blood, not only of their strongest, but of their old men and mothers, and even the tender children in arms."

We now turn over the pages of the days until we reach the time when the entire frontier was in daily apprehension of a descent of the savage hordes. Let us remember that one thousand of the bravest youths of Wyoming, at the call of Congress, had gone to fight for liberty, and that the valley was depleted of its strength.

"The concentration of the enemy at Newtown and Tioga, and the preparation of boats and canoes being known, every man who could bear arms was called into service and trained. Two deserters from the British army were in the valley, one by the name of Pike, who had fled from Boston several years before; the other named Boyd, a fine active young fellow, from Canada; the latter, a sergeant, was particularly useful in training the militia. Large bodies were sent up the river as scouts, and as the Yankee woodsmen, crossing the stream on falling trees, would run over the roaring flood with the agility of the wild cat, the two foreigners, sitting astride of the log, hitching themselves awkwardly across, excited great merriment among their companions. The forts were now filled with women and children. Every company of the militia was ordered to be ready at a moment's warning—all was bustle and anxiety. Care sat on every brow, and fear on many a heart too firm to allow a breath of apprehension to escape the lips. The one and only cannon, the four-pounder, was in Wilkesbarre Fort. Having no ball it was kept as an alarm gun. The indispensable labors of the field were performed by armed men. Soon and certainly the attack would be made was known; but the precise time could not be calculated, for the enemy could descend the river, slightly swollen, at the rate of five miles an hour, and could, therefore, be in the settlement in less than a day from leaving their rendezvous. So usually is there a rise of water in summer, that the June fresh is a familiar phrase, and had, it was supposed, been fixed upon for their embarkation. Leaving the lovely and unprotected valley in all its beauty, the fields waving with the abundance of a rich harvest, but the people, like a covey of partridges, cowering beneath a flock of blood scenting vultures, that soared above, ready to pounce on their

prey; or like a flock of sheep huddled together in their pen, while the prowling wolves already sent their impatient howl across the fields, impatient for their victims, we proceed to state one of the most impudent attempts at treachery and deception ever recorded. It is known the Indian prides himself on his cunning. It is equally honorable to take a scalp by stratagem as by force. So secure were they of Wyoming that the whole expedition seems to have been a matter of sport, a holiday gamble with the savages. The Senecas were the nation principally concerned in the expedition, although detachments from the Mohawks, and other tribes, accompanied them. While the enemy were concentrating at their rendezvous, a delegation of Seneca chiefs, daringly presuming on the stolidity of Congress, repaired to Philadelphia, ostensibly to negotiate, really to amuse, put them off their guard, and prevent any troops being sent to the threatened frontier. Nor did the bold and dextrous chiefs leave the city until the fatal blow was struck, as an extract from the journals will show. (July 8, 1778. Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to send for the Seneca chiefs that have lately quitted Philadelphia, and inquire whether the Seneca nation, as such, have committed hostilities against us). The chiefs refused to return. Why should they? Their errand was accomplished! The enemy, numbering about four hundred British Provincials, consisted of Colonel John Butler's Rangers, a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens, the rest being Tories from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, together with six or seven hundred Indians, under the command of Sakayenguaraghton, (the old King of the Senecas, who directed the entire plan culminating in the massacre.) Having descended the Susquehanna from Tioga Point, they landed not far below Bowman's Creek on the west side of the river, in a north direction, about twenty miles above the valley. Securing their boats, they marched across the peninsula, and arrived on the western mountain on the evening of the 29th, or the morning of the 30th of June."

"The little army of the Americans consisted of six regular companies. In addition to these the Judges of the Court and all the civil officers who were near, went out. Many old men—some of them grandfathers—took their muskets and marched to the field. For instance, the aged Mr. Searle, of Kingston, was one.

Having become bald, he wore a wig. Taking out his silver knee buckles, he said to his family, 'If I fall I shall not need them; if I come back they will be safe here.' Nothing could have been more incongruous, more pitiously unfit, than the mingling of such aged men in the rough onset of battle. Dire was the necessity that compelled it. The old gentleman had a number of grandchildren. Several boys from fourteen to sixteen are known to have been on the field. There was a company at Pittston of thirty or forty men, under Capt. Blanchard, stationed at the Fort to guard the people there. To leave them and march to Forty Fort would be to expose them to certain destruction, for the enemy was in sight on the opposite bank of the river. Captain Franklin's company, from Huntingdon and Salem, had not arrived. The other companies of the regiment were at Capouse, and at the Lackaway settlement, too far off to afford assistance, so that there were about two hundred and thirty enrolled men and seventy old people, boys, civil magistrates and other volunteers.

"Everything was judiciously disposed and conducted in a strictly military and prudent manner. Colonel Butler made a very brief address just before he ordered the column to display. 'Men, yonder is the enemy. The fate of the Hardings tells us what we have to expect if defeated. We come out to fight, not only for liberty, but for life itself, and what is dearer, to preserve our homes from conflagration, our women and children from the tomahawk. Stand firm the first shock, and the Indians will give way. Every man to his duty.'

"About four in the afternoon the battle began. Colonel Zebulon Butler ordered his men to fire, and at each discharge to advance a step. Along the whole line the discharges were rapid and steady. It was evident on the more open ground the Yankees were doing most execution. As our men advanced, pouring in their platoon fire with great vivacity, the British line gave way in spite of all their officers' efforts to prevent it. The Indian flanking party on our right kept up, from their hiding place, a galling fire. On the British Butler's right, his Indian warriors were sharply engaged. They seemed to be divided into six bands, for a yell would be raised at one end of their line, taken up and carried through six distinct bodies, at each time repeating the cry. As the battle waxed warmer, that fearful yell was renewed again and again, with more and more spirit. It appeared to be at once their

animating shout and their signal of communication. For half an hour a hot fire had been given and sustained, when the vastly superior numbers of the enemy began to develop its power. The Indians had thrown into the swamp a large force, which now completely out-flanked our left. It was impossible it should be otherwise. That wing was thrown into confusion. Colonel Dennison gave orders that the company of Whittlesey should wheel back, so as to form an angle with the main line, and thus present his front, instead of his flank, to the enemy. The difficulty of performing evolutions by the bravest militia on the field under a hot fire is well known. On the attempt the savages rushed in with horrid yells. Some had mistaken the order to fall back as one to retreat, and that fatal word ran along the line. Utter confusion now prevailed on the left. Seeing the disorder, and his own men beginning to give way, Colonel Zebulon Butler threw himself between the fires of the opposing ranks and rode up and down the line in the most reckless exposure. 'Don't leave me, my children, and the victory is ours.' But it was too late.

"Still on the fated left men stood their ground. 'See,' said Westover to George Cooper, 'our men are all retreating; shall we go?' 'I'll have one more shot first,' was the reply. At that moment a ball struck a tree by his head, and an Indian springing towards him with his spear, Cooper drew up his rifle and fired; the Indian sprung several feet from the ground, and fell prostrate on his face. 'Come,' said Westover. 'I'll load first,' replied Cooper, and it is probable this coolness saved them, for the great body of savages had dashed forward after the flying, and were far in their rear. On the right one of his officers said to Captain Hewitt: 'The day is lost; see, the Indians are sixty rods in our rear; shall we retreat?' 'I'll be d—d if I do,' was his answer. 'Drummer strike up,' cried he, and strove to rally his men. Every effort was vain. Thus he fought and there he fell. Every captain that led a company into action was slain, and in every instance fell on or near the line. They died at the head of their men. They fought bravely—every man and officer did his duty—but they were overpowered by three-fold their force. In point of numbers the enemy were overwhelmingly superior.

"The battle being ended, the massacre began. A portion of the Indian flanking party pushed forward in the rear of the Connecticut line, to cut off retreat to Forty Fort, and then pressed the

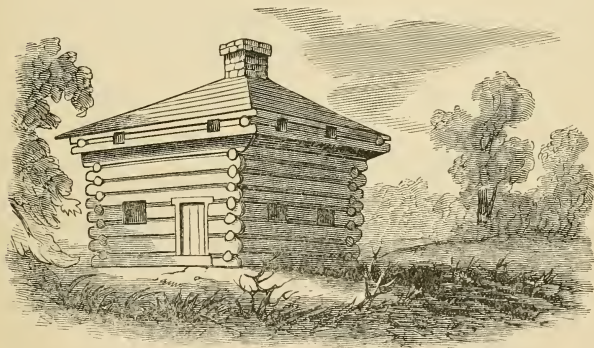
retreating army towards the river. Monocksy Island afforded the only hope of crossing; the stream of flight flowed in that direction through fields of grain. Cooper and those who remained near the line of battle saw the main body of the Indians hastening after the fugitives. At Forty Fort the bank of the river was lined by anxious wives and mothers awaiting the issue. Hearing the firing sharply continued, now hope arose; but when the shots became irregular and approached nearer and nearer, that hope sank in dismay. Lieutenant Gore, whose arm was shattered early in the action, being intercepted in an attempt to retreat the way he had marched up, secreted himself in a thick covert of bushes and briars, near the road, in the descending bank. Indians ran past him, their attention being directed towards those who were flying through the flats. One stood very near, gazed a moment, drew up his rifle and fired. Raising a yell, he rushed forward, probably to scalp his victim.

"At the river, near the island, the scene was exceedingly distressing. A few swam over and escaped. Closely pressed, many were killed in the river. Sergeant Jeremiah Bigford, a very active man, was pursued by an Indian into the stream with a spear; Bigford faced him, struck the spear from his hand and seizing him by the neck, dashed him under his feet, where he would have drowned, but another savage rushed forward to his aid and ran his spear through Bigford's breast, who fell dead and floated away. One of the fugitives, by the name of Pensil, sought security by hiding in a cluster of willows on the island. Seeing his Tory brother come up, and recognizing him, he threw himself at his feet, begging for protection, and proffered to serve him for life if he would save him. 'Mighty well!' was the taunting reply. 'You darned rebel!' and instantly shot him dead. It was a dreadful hour; men seemed transformed into demons. The worst passions raged with wild and desolating fury. All the sweet charities of life seemed extinguished. Lieutenant Shoemaker, one of the most generous and benevolent-hearted of men, whose wealth enabled him to dispense charity and do good, which was a delight to him, fled to the river, when Windecker, who had often fed at his board and drank of his cup, came to the brink. 'Come out, come out,' said he; 'you know I will protect you.' How could he doubt it? Windecker reached out his left hand as if to lead him, much exhausted, ashore, and dashed his tomahawk into the head of his benefactor, who fell back and floated away.

"Many prisoners were lured ashore by promise of quarter, and then butchered. The accurate Indian marksmen, sure of their prey, had coolly singled out officers, and broke the thigh bone, it is supposed, as so many are found perforated, so as effectually to disable, but leaving the victim alive for torture. Captain Bidlack was thrown alive on the burning logs of the fort, held down with pitchforks, and there tortured till he expired. Prisoners taken under solemn promise of quarter were gathered together and placed in circles. Sixteen or eighteen were arranged around one large stone, since known as the bloody rock. Surrounded by a body of Indians, Queen Esther, a fury in the form of a woman, assumed the office of executioner with death-maul or tomahawk, for she used the one with both hands, or took up the other with one, and passing around the circle with words, as if singing, or counting with a cadence, she would dash out the brains, or sink the tomahawk into the head of a prisoner. The mangled bodies of fourteen or fifteen were afterward found round the rock where they had fallen, scalped and horribly mangled. Nine more were found in a similar circle some distance above."

"Colonel Zebulon Butler repaired to the Wilkesbarre Fort and cast himself exhausted on the ground. Colonel Dennison took up his quarters at Forty Fort, gathered the few soldiers who had come in—placed sentinels, and took all the precautions in his power, dictated by prudence, to guard against surprise, and save the women and children. The night throughout the valley was one of inexpressible anguish and despair. Although darkness put an end to the pursuit, and most of the prisoners had been barbarously butchered, some who were supposed to be special objects of hate were selected for slower torture, and the execution of more savage vengeance. It may be some unguarded word—perhaps the refusal in gone-by years of whiskey to an importunate Indian; some fancied or real wrong; or, it is thought by some, to satiate the revenge of Indians who had lost relations in the fight; whatever may have been the motive the vast depths of hell, boiling with demoniac passions, never could have devised or executed such horrid tortures as many of the Connecticut prisoners were that night doomed to endure. On the river bank, on the Pittston side, Captain Blanchard, Esquire Whitaker and Ishmael Bennet, attracted by fires

among trees, took their station and witnessed the process of torture. Several naked men in the midst of flames were driven round a stake; their groans and screams were most piteous, while the shouts and yells of the savages, who danced around, urging the victims on with their spears, were too horrible to be endured. They were powerless to help or avenge, and withdrew heartsick from a view of their horrid orgies—glad that they did not know who were the sufferers. On the battleground the work of torture lasted till vengeance, satiated and weary, dropped the knife and torch from exhaustion. In the morning the battlefield was strewn with limbs and bodies torn apart, mangled and partially consumed. The Indians secured two hundred and thirty-seven scalps of the Connecticut people killed that day, while only one hundred and forty escaped. Squaws followed the Indian warriors, hideously smeared with brains and blood, bringing strings of scalps; of which, with more than a demon's malice, they would smell and exultingly exclaim, "Yankee blood."



Lazarus Stewart's Block House.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

STRUGGLING FOR POSSESSION.

DURING THE times of adjustment of the varied interests in the colonial regime, there were many cases of injustice which were not intended to be such, but arose from misunderstandings concerning the foundation of rights. In the affair of the Connecticut colonists within the border of Pennsylvania, there were the conflicting interests of parties favored by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and those who claimed rights under the Connecticut charter. In the review of the case, as we will show, the Council of Censors, the final court of appeal in Pennsylvania, rebuked the unfair and unscrupulous haste of the Assembly in their action. But the Assembly simply ignored the judgment of the Censors and thus violated the principles of government under which they were existing. This showed the extremity of their case. There is on record the following:

“Proclamation respecting Connecticut Claimants, January 6th, 1783:

“By the President and Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Whereas, the Court of Commissioners, constituted and declared by the United States, in Congress assembled, to hear and finally determine the controversy between this State and the State of Connecticut respecting sundry lands lying within the northern boundary of this State, having heard the said States respectively, thereupon proceeded, on the thirtieth day of December past, to give judgment in the words following, to wit: ‘We are unanimously of the opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy. We are also unanimously of opinion that the jurisdiction and pre-emption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania and now claimed by the State of Connecticut do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania.

We have thought fit to make known and proclaim, and do hereby make known and proclaim, the same. And we do hereby charge, enjoin, and require all persons whatsoever, and more especially such person or persons who, under the authority or countenance of the late colony, now State of Connecticut, either before or since the Declaration of Independence, have entered upon and settled lands within the bounds of this State, to take notice of the said judgment, and pay the obedience to the laws of this commonwealth. And whereas, there is reason to fear that the animosities and resentments which may have arisen between the people, who, under the authority or countenance of the said late colony, now State as aforesaid, have made settlements within the bounds of this State, and the citizens of Pennsylvania, who claim the lands whereon such settlements have been made, may induce some of the latter to endeavor to gain possession of the said lands by force and violence, contrary to law, whereby the peace of the State may be endangered and individuals greatly injured, we do hereby strictly charge, enjoin, and require all persons whatsoever to forbear molesting or in anywise disturbing any person or persons who, under the authority or countenance of the late colony, now State of Connecticut, as aforesaid, have settled lands within the bounds of this State, until the legislature or the courts of justice shall have made laws, or have passed judgment in such case as to right and justice may appear to belong, as such persons offending therein shall answer the contrary at their peril. And we do hereby charge, enjoin and require all judges, justices, sheriffs and other peace officers, to use their authority to prevent offences and to punish according to law all offences committed, or to be committed, against any of the people so as aforesaid settled under the authority or countenance of the said late colony, now State of Connecticut, as aforesaid, on lands within this State, and who pay due obedience to the laws thereof as in case of like offences against any citizen of this State. Given in council, under the hand of the president and the seal of the State, at Philadelphia, the sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord 1783. John Dickinson, President."

The state of feeling throughout the valley was such that rebellion was manifested by those who felt the injustice of the course pursued toward them. The officers of the law immediately in the district were partisans of the worst type, and were cruel beyond

all endurance. Frederick Antes, the Presiding Judge at Northumberland, was rather friendly to the Wyoming people, and when he was a candidate for the Assembly, voters came sixty miles down the river to the polling place to vote for him. But this caused the Assembly to throw out these votes, thus seating the one who represented the opposition. But at that time Henry Antes, as a candidate for sheriff, had no opposition, and was therefore the unanimous choice of the county, which was a rare testimonial to the man's popularity among all classes on the frontier. The treatment received in the Wyoming district from the Pennsylvania officers is well seen in the following statement of the experience of the famous warrior, Zebulon Butler, the heroic defender of the people against the Indians, when the awful massacre occurred.

"Colonel Zebulon Butler (by whom Patterson had, in 1770, been starved out and made a prisoner) returned from the army with his lady, arriving at Wilkesbarre on the 20th of August. How welcome was his presence to friend or foe may be easily imagined. The licentious soldiery, released from the restraints of discipline, which the presence of an enemy tends to enforce, and encouraged by the civil authority, became extremely rude and oppressive. They took, without leave, whatever they fancied. Several persons had been arrested and brought before Captain Shrawder. Colonel Butler, indignant at the treatment the inhabitants suffered, expressed his opinion freely, and for himself said he was going to camp, was still a continental officer and swore his soldier oath—"set fire to 'em—they shall not stop me." It was enough. A writ was issued and Colonel Butler arrested on the 24th of September, as it was said, for high treason. Surrounded by a guard of soldiers, he was conveyed to the Fort and treated with great indignity. The next day, under a military guard, the gallant veteran was sent, by Esquire Patterson, to Sunbury, a distance of sixty miles. When delivered at the jail, lo! there was no mittimus directing Sheriff Antes to hold the prisoner in custody until more accurate documents could be procured from Justice Patterson. Very soon after, satisfactory bail being offered, Sheriff Antes set Colonel Butler at liberty, and he returned to his family. Thus the patriot soldier, who had served with reputation through the war, had periled his life again and again for Wyoming, in one short month from his arrival at his home was seized, and, without law, cast into prison as a felon."

Patterson's explanation of the affair is seen in the following letter, in which he attempts to prevent the commission as sheriff being issued to Henry Antes :

Justice Patterson to John Dickinson. "Londonderry (Wilkesbarre), Dec. 20th, 1783. Sir: Since Mr. Meade and I wrote you last, the purport of which was informing the measures taken to have in confinement that flagrant offender, Colonel Zebulon Butler, who has threatened the dissolution of the citizens of this State and its laws. Notwithstanding he was committed from under the hands and seals of three justices of the peace for treason, he has found security and is sent back to this place to the terror of the good citizens in this neighborhood. The sheriff has not done his duty, nor do I believe he intends it, being a party man, among which I am sorry to see so little principles of humanity and honor, men who wish for popularity at the expense of the property, and perhaps blood, of their fellow citizens. Strange as it may appear, it is absolutely true, that the banditti at Wyoming have been solicited for their votes at the election, caressed and patronized in their villainy, encouraged in their claims to land which they now hold, in violation of all law, from men who have distinguished themselves and taken a very decided part in the late Revolution. Sure I am that it would be an act of justice not to commissionate Antes; the other person on the return I do not know, but worse he cannot be. Pardon this freedom. Nothing but a wish for the peace of the citizens would have induced me to have said so much upon this head. I have wrote the Chief Justice concerning Butler, and have prevailed upon the bearer, Captain John Dick, to carry these despatches; he will return to this place and may be depended upon. I am very uneasy, having heard nothing of Major Moore. I wish he was here. I hope your excellency will think it right to order the troops forward as soon as possible. I have the honor to be, with the sentiments of highest esteem, Your most obedient humble servant. Alexander Patterson."

The official record of Antes' action is as follows:

"Northumberland County, ss. To the sheriff, under sheriff, or goaler [seal]: These are in the name of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to require and command you that you receive into your custody in the goal of said county the body of Zebulon Butler, charged of treason and extremely dangerous, as appears

to us, the subscribers, justices assigned to keep the peace of said county, from sundry depositions and information before us. And that you safely keep the said Zebulon Butler in said goal until he is discharged therefrom by law. Given under our hand and seals, October 9th, 1783. Alexander Patterson, John Seeley, David Mead."

"Northumberland, November 11th, 1783. Sir: Upon reconsideration of the note I have wrote you by Mr. John Mead, I do not wish you to consider it in any manner as a summons to come to Sunbury, and I therefore order John Mead, or any other messenger of mine, who may have you in custody, immediately to enlarge you, and suffer you to go home or elsewhere within the county of Northumberland, until Court, or further orders from me. Witness my hand and seal the day and year above. Henry Antes, Sheriff."

"Northumberland County, ss. John Mead, being at this time a goaler of the county aforesaid, saith: That on the eighth of November last, being sent up to Wyoming by Henry Antes, High Sheriff of the county, the said Sheriff delivered him a paper directing him to apprehend Colonel Zebulon Butler, and bring him to Sunbury goal, and to keep him safely agreeable to a Mittimus, which the Sheriff acknowledged to be in his hands. This deponent accordingly apprehended the said Butler at Wyoming, and brought him down with him to Northumberland town, where he was met by the Sheriff, General Potter, William Shaw, Esquire, William Boram and Captain Robinson. The Sheriff then took the said Butler from him, desiring him to let said Butler go and he would clear him for so doing. The Sheriff afterward delivered a paper to this deponent, by way of indemnifying the deponent and letting said Butler go. It seems to be a copy of an original by the Sheriff to said Butler, but was signed by the Sheriff himself. John Mead. Sworn and subscribed the 13th of November, 1783, before John Buyers and Christian Gettig, Esquires."

The following account shows Patterson's manner of doing: "On the first of October Captain Franklin was arrested on a charge of trespass for proceeding to farm his land, and brought before Justice Patterson. Mr. F. plead title, and desired a fair trial by Court, and jury might decide the matter. Such course not according with his policy, he was dismissed by the Justice.

Captain Christie arrived with his company on the 29th of October, and forthwith the two companies of soldiers were quartered upon the inhabitants; in some instances, where special oppression was meditated, eight and ten were placed with one family. Colonel Butler was particularly distinguished by having twenty billeted upon him, the more distressingly unwelcome as Mrs. Butler was recently confined. The house being small, hastily erected after the conflagration of the savages, the people poor, and the soldiers insolent, their sufferings were exceedingly severe, too great for human nature to patiently bear. But seeing it was the purpose to drive them to some act of desperation, the injury and insults were borne with forbearance and fortitude. His strength now being equal to any probable emergency, Justice Patterson proceeded to adopt measures of greater energy. October 1st the settlement of Shawney was invaded by the military, headed by the Justice in person, and eleven respectable citizens arrested and sent under guard to the fort. Among the prisoners was Major Prince Alden, sixty-five years old, feeble from age and suffering from disease. Compassion yielded nothing to alleviate his sufferings. Captain James Bidlack was also arrested. He was between sixty and seventy. His son of the same name had fallen at the head of his company in the Indian battle; another son had served in the army through the Revolutionary war. Mr. B. himself had been taken by the savages and suffered a tedious captivity in Canada. All this availed him nothing. Benjamin Harvey, who had been a prisoner to the Indians, was also arrested. Samuel Ransom, son of Captain Ransom, who fell in the massacre, was most rudely treated on being taken.

“‘Ah, ha!’ cried Patterson, ‘you are the jockey we wanted; away with him to the guard house, with old Harvey, another damned rascal.’ Eleven in all were taken and driven to the fort, where they were confined in a room with a mud floor, wet and comfortless, with no food, and little fire, which as they were sitting round, Captain Christie came in, ordered them to lie down on the ground, and bade the guard to blow out the brains of anyone who should attempt to rise. Even the staff of the aged Mr. Alden was taken from him. On demanding what was their offence, and if it was intended to starve them, Patterson tauntingly replied, ‘Perhaps in two or three months we

shall be at leisure, and you may be set at liberty.' At the intercession of David Meade, Esquire, three of the elder prisoners the next day were liberated, the remaining eight being kept in their loathsome prison, some a week, others ten days, and then dismissed without arraignment or trial. But the object had been accomplished; their several families had been turned out of their homes and creatures of Patterson put in possession. It is scarcely possible to conceive the insolence of manner assumed by Justice Patterson. Meeting by accident with Captain Caleb Bates and learning his name, 'Why have you not been to see me, sir?' Captain Bates answered that he did not know him. 'I will recommend myself to you, sir. I am Esquire Patterson, of Pennsylvania!' and almost instantly ordered a sergeant to take him to the guard house."

That kind of treatment would not do on the frontier. The men who braved all kinds of dangers to establish their homes where Indians, and floods, and forests, and swamps opposed, were not to be frightened by the blustering of such a man as Patterson. The more he swore, the louder they replied in the same terms. The more bitter were his persecutions, the more sturdy were their acts of resistance. The more they showed the true temper of their stalwart natures, the more determined the State officers were that they should be subdued, for they seemed to listen only to the one side of the question. As a consequence of this determination, the following letters were sent to Sheriff Antes, and to Captain Willson, the Lieutenant of the county:

"John Armstrong, Secretary of Council, to Henry Antes, July 29th, 1784. By the enclosed resolution, you will find it the intention of Government to proceed with the utmost energy against every person, without discrimination, who has outraged the tranquility of the State. By the third resolution you will observe the necessity of going hand in hand with Captain Willson, and with him awaiting the farther directions provided for by the fourth resolution. The ground opposite the mouth of Nescopeck Creek is assigned as the place of rendezvous. Some of the writs to be executed are enclosed."

"John Armstrong to Captain Willson, Lieutenant of Northumberland county, July 29th, 1784. Sir: Enclosed, you have a copy of some resolutions of Council of this day. They

are of such a nature as to require your greatest possible industry and attention. In addition to them I have to tell you that Council, from the confidence they have in your capacity and attachment, wish you to engage for the supply of the troops which may be called forth by your order. The price they propose to give is ten and one-half d. per ration. The quantity to be produced must depend upon your own calculation, for as this business will be subject to much contingency, it is impossible for Council to hazard a single conjecture on that score. I have also to communicate their wishes that you will not only pay the greatest attention to the character of the officers nominated to the command of the men, and by all means avoid such as have been distinguished by their predilections to either side of the question, but that you will also come on with the troops yourself to the ground opposite the mouth of Nescopeck creek, where we will endeavor to meet you with the Northampton detachment. As it is impossible to calculate with much precision upon the movements of militia, we cannot venture to name the day on which we shall be there, but the probability is that we shall reach it before you, as it is our intention to move as expeditiously as possible. If so, we will communicate with you by letter or otherwise, and direct to what other point you are to shape your movements. The Sheriff of your county will receive orders of Council to co-operate with us, and under the countenance we shall afford be prepared to execute the writs which have been issued by the Judicial Authority. You will remember, also, to bring with you whatever ammunition or other public stores that may be deposited at Sunbury; if you should have no powder, you will make a purchase of such quantity as will be necessary for your party, as it might be imprudent to come forward without it. I have only to add yet, if you should be at the place of rendezvous before us you will take such steps as will best secure you against disaster of any kind. All this command, however, you are to exercise with great address, and let it appear to be rather the effect of advice and persuasion than the result of authority."

At this same meeting of the Council, Colonel Frederick Antes resigned his position as Presiding Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, of the Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and of the Orphans' Court, to take his seat in the Assembly, to which he had just been elected.

John Armstrong and Mr. Boyd in due time arrived on the scene and took charge, ignoring the proper officers of the county. Instead of being under the command of the Sheriff, who was the true officer, they took things in their own hands, and, as will be seen, prevented justice being done, and really aided the people who were the most vindictive in the struggle. On their arrival they sent a letter to John Dickinson, the President of the Council, and received from him the following reply, dated August 10th, 1784: "Gentlemen: We have received your letter by Captain Schott, and are in hopes that when the insurgents are convinced of the determined resolution of government to insist upon a due submission to the authority of the people of Pennsylvania, they will desist from further violence. As soon as they are in this disposition you will please to have the proper legal steps taken that those who have disturbed the peace, of whatever party they are, may be rendered answerable for their conduct. It shall be our endeavor, as it is our duty, to impress this principle, that it is extreme folly for men to expect they shall promote their real interests by a contempt for the laws of their country. The fortifications at Wyoming we would have leveled and totally destroyed, and the cannons, arms, removed to Sunbury and there safely deposited."

Writing of the work done by Armstrong and Boyd, John Franklin, one of the leaders of the Connecticut men, records: "August 14th. The Locust Hill party being coupled two and two in irons, and all bound together with ropes, were sent to Easton under guard. As they were marching off, Armstrong gave orders to the guard, that if any prisoner attempted to make his escape to put the whole immediately to death, and that government would indemnify them for so doing. August 19th. Forty-two others were bound together with ropes in a team and sent under a military guard to Sunbury goal. The Sheriff of the county (Henry Antes) proposed to take charge of the whole that were to be sent to Sunbury before they left Wyoming, and to be accountable for them all, but could not be permitted. In a word, during the confinement of the prisoners at Wyoming they were treated in a most cruel and barbarous manner, suffered with hunger, and suffocated in a nauseous prison for the want of fresh air, and insulted by a banditti of ruffians; the prisoners were not even

suffered to go out of their house to perform their most necessary occasions of nature for the term of nine days. (Franklin.)”

In the story of the settlement of Northumberland, we related the coming of Robert Martin from the Wyoming Valley, driven out by the aggressions of the Connecticut settlers. His opinions of them were not at all favorable, and he could relate many flagrant instances of their insults and oppressions. At this time he was one of the justices of the county, and was sent to the valley to do his part in restoring order. He witnessed the doings and the arrogance of Armstrong, and was so incensed by it that on August 14th, 1784, he wrote the following letter, explaining what had been done and how the prejudice of men had overruled justice:

“I beg leave to give you a detail of matters at this place. I must confess I am much disappointed as to the conduct of the Commissioners, to wit, Captain Boyd and Colonel Armstrong. Esquire Mead and myself repaired to this place in obedience to our instructions from Council, a copy of which you will call on Council for, and peruse, whereby you’ll find we are required by every legal means in our power to investigate matters and to proceed impartially in order that offenders of every description may be brought to justice. At our arrival we found that both the Pennsylvania and Connecticut parties had actually proceeded to hostilities, which we are well assured began five miles from the garrison, on Shawney Plains, about the 20th of July last. Which party first began the fire at that time we cannot, with certainty, say; but we view both parties guilty of hostilities. Previous to this it can be proved that numbers of the Connecticut party have been fired upon by the other party when they were about their lawful business. But to return to the subject of our mission or duty, soon after we came to this place we called on the Connecticut party in the name of the Commonwealth to lay down their arms and submit themselves to the laws. Which they accordingly did, which will appear by papers enclosed in our letter to Council of the 6th inst. August, and at the same time declaring their willingness at all times to be law-abiding. We accordingly made a demand of a like nature of Patterson and his party, or in other words, the Pennsylvania party; their answer was that they would comply, but said they would everyone be murdered by the Connecticut party. We, in answer to them, said we did not apprehend the least

danger from their opponents, as they had solemnly engaged to us they would not molest or hurt one of them on any pretence whatever. We further assured them that we would not ask them to deliver their arms to us before we put the arms of the Connecticut party on board the boat, within sight of the Garrison; but all our arguments and proposals were to no purpose. Then we returned to the Connecticut party and informed them that they were at liberty to take up their arms and disperse, and go to their habitations about their lawful business, which we believe they did, as we were of opinion that it would not be prudent to disarm one party and not the other. Our proposals to both parties were, that if they would submit to the laws and deliver up their arms to us, we would put as many of the leading men of both parties as we should see proper in custody of the Sheriff, to be taken to Sunbury. Had these proposals been complied with by Patterson and his party, we should have had no use for the Commissioners or militia, which plan we thought most likely to answer the object of government and quiet the minds of the people, and at the same time be acting up to our instructions from Council. We had solemnly engaged to the Connecticut party on their submission they should have equal justice with the other party and the benefit of the law, which engagement we made known to the Commissioners on their arrival, who approved of our conduct and assured us that they were sent here to do complete justice, without distinction of parties; which gave us the highest expectations that matters would soon be settled in such a manner as would do honor to government; but to our astonishment, no sooner had the Connecticut men yielded themselves prisoners and laid down their arms to the Commissioners, they were immediately marched under a strong guard and crowded into two small houses unfit for the reception of any human being; at the same time, to the great mortification of those prisoners, and contrary, as they say, to the promise of the Commissioners, were insulted by the other party with their arms in their hands, which we think by no means accords with the declaration of the Commissioners, which was that they were sent here to do complete justice. It appears very clear to us that the proceedings now at this place are carried on so unfairly, partial and unlawful that we despair of establishing peace and good order in this part of the county; therefore, as for my own part, think it not prudent to act for the future in my office unless properly sup-

ported, as we are very sure nothing short of law, impartially distributed, without distinction, will ever restore peace and quiet the minds of the people of this place. Sorry we are, and with reluctance we mention the partial proceedings here by the officers of government, but at the same time think it our indispensable duty to bear testimony against them; we are much alarmed at the horrid abuse of power lodged in the hands of designing and biased men; we fear eventually it may bring on an intestine war between the States, to prevent which we hope the authority of Pennsylvania will execute justice to every citizen thereof. The Connecticut party have generally declared themselves as such by taking the oath of allegiance to this State, as directed by law. God forbid that I should have any desire or inclination to favor the Connecticut party or their claims. I can honestly declare that I should be as well pleased to see them legally removed from this place as any man in the State, as my interests here are under the Pennsylvania right. It must appear to every one acquainted with this circumstance much to my interest to see them dispossessed. I again say that I have nothing in view respecting the unhappy dispute here, but to do equal justice to every person, as I hope my conduct will at all times stand the test and I be esteemed a faithful servant to government."

President John Dickinson, whose humanity had been shown in desiring supplies to be sent to the inhabitants suffering from the ice flood, and whose sense of justice, as well as ideas of policy, was shocked by the violences committed on the people, now encouraged by the proceedings of the Council of Censors, interposed in this feeling and impressive strain on October 5th, 1784: "To the Supreme Executive Council. Gentlemen: Being still indisposed and unable to attend in Council to-day, I think it my duty, notwithstanding what has been already offered, to request that you will be pleased further to consider the propriety of calling a body of militia into actual service on the intelligence yet received and in the manner proposed. If the intention is that the militia should assist the Pennsylvania claimants in securing the corn planted on the lands from which the settlers were expelled last spring, such a procedure will drive those settlers into absolute despair. They will have no alternative but to fight for the corn, or suffer, perhaps to perish for want of it in the coming winter. The Commissioners have informed the Council that their deter-

mination on that alternative will most probably be * * * *

* * * They will regard this step as the commencement of a war against them, and perhaps others, whose sentiments are of vastly more importance, may be of the same opinion. I am perfectly convinced of the uncommon merit of Colonel Armstrong, but the appointment of an adjutant general upon this occasion and bestowing that appointment on the secretary of the Council, when it is well known that the settlers view him in the light of an enemy, are circumstances that may promote unfavorable construction of the conduct of government. The public bodies which have lately assembled in this city have fully testified their disapprobation of hostilities on account of the disputes at Wyoming; and upon the whole, there is too much reason to be persuaded that the plan now meditated will, if carried into execution, produce very unhappy consequences. Knowing the uprightness of your intentions, gentlemen, I feel great pain in dissenting from your judgment; and if the measure is pursued, from esteem to you and affection for the Commonwealth, I have only to wish, as I most heartily do, that I may be proved by the event to have been mistaken."

This letter did not restrain the Assembly in their course. When the militia were called out, those of Bucks and Berks counties refused to go. On September 15th, 1784, the Assembly passed a resolution, ordering the settlers to have their possessions restored to them.

From this letter it is plainly to be seen the President and the Secretary of the Council were not in accord on the manner of dealing with the recalcitrant settlers. John Dickinson was a thoughtful man, disposed to look honestly and fairly at the questions presented to him. His great heart enabled him to see how the people would suffer from extreme measures, and he had no wish to be thus cruel to them. The Assembly was not as courteous, and they acted according to the spirit of intense partisans, unrestrained by the more judicious and tender heart of their absent President. The attitude of the Assembly laid the foundation for action as indicated in the following letters:

Secretary John Armstrong to John Weitzel, October 1st, 1784. "Sir: It is the desire of Council that you will procure and transport a quantity of provisions, viz: flour, beef, salt, and rum, as immediately as possible to Wyoming, there to be de-

posited under the care of such persons as you may appoint to receive it. You may calculate upon one hundred men for a fortnight. The emergency which makes this business so extremely interesting to Council and important to the State will not admit of a moment's delay, and makes it necessary again to engage your industry and management in the service of the public."

Armstrong to Henry Antes of the same date. "Sir: You are hereby directed to proceed immediately upon the receipt of this to raise the posse-comitatus of the county of Northumberland, and with them proceed under the direction of the Magistracy to apprehend and secure the persons concerned in the late violation of the peace at Wyoming, and more particularly the persons whose names are hereafter mentioned."

We now come to the final act in the Wyoming affair, so far as the Magistracy and the Sheriff of Northumberland county are concerned. In 1785, Justice Meade was awakened from his slumbers by hearing sounds in his meadow. Looking out of his window he saw a number of men mowing in his fields. He expressed his protest as vigorously as was possible for him to do, but the answer he received was to the effect that there was no use trying to fix matters, for it was the old question of Yankee and Pennymite. Justice Meade was thoroughly alarmed, and not knowing what might be done further by these lawless neighbors, barricaded his house and prepared to defend his possessions. He also sent to the Sheriff at Sunbury, demanding writs for the arrest of those who had invaded his premises. Sheriff Antes did not come in person, but sent his deputy, Major Crawford, who attempted to serve the writs but could not find the people, for there were nearly forty of them on the lists. Major Crawford left the writs in the hands of Colonel Butler, to give to the persons named, and to request them voluntarily to present themselves at Sunbury and enter bail for their appearance in response to the writs. Justice Meade was so displeased by this way of having his case treated, that he entered complaint before the Executive Council at Philadelphia. The following is the record of their action:

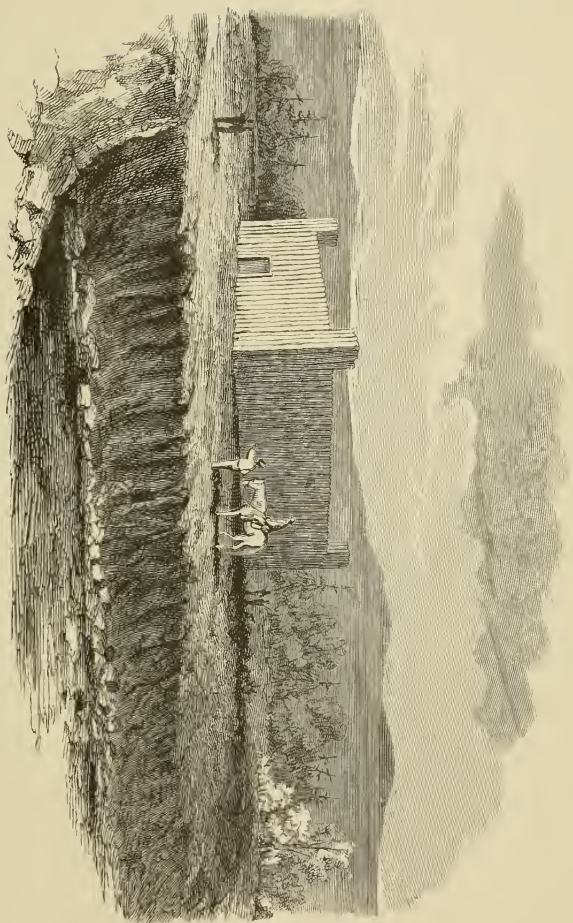
"Supreme Executive Council, July 11th, 1785. A conference with the Honorable, the Judges of the Supreme Court, being held, it was resolved, that the Judges of the Supreme

Court be requested forthwith to take the deposition of William Willson, the person sent down by David Meade, Esquire, to issue warrants against the rioters and to proceed by way of attachment against the Sheriff of Northumberland county for misbehavior."

Although the President, John Dickinson, had been a personal acquaintance and friend of Henry Antes for many years, the representations that Justice Meade made of the action of the Sheriff seemed to mark them as strange and without excuse. Laboring under this impression, and knowing how the sympathies of Sheriff Antes had been with the men now under indictment, the following letter is written to Sheriff Antes:

"In Council, July 12th, 1785. Sir: At a conference yesterday with the Honorable, the Judges of the Supreme Court, they produced several depositions representing your conduct as very extraordinary and detrimental to the peace of your county. We therefore think it our duty, immediately and in the strongest manner, to enjoin your instant and effectual execution of any process against offenders at or near Wyoming that has or shall come to your hands, and for this purpose, and also to enforce due obedience to the laws of the State, you forthwith repair to that place, where, we understand, many persons are collected in a riotous manner, having injured several peaceable citizens, and threaten further to injure them. Your own prudence will dictate to you how interesting your behavior on this occasion must necessarily be to yourself, as well as to the State. I am, sir, your very humble servant, John Dickinson."

As a result of these statements, Sheriff Antes found it necessary to go down to Philadelphia and answer in person the charges there presented. Captain Schott was the principal witness on the side of Justice Meade. After the Council had considered the matter, Sheriff Antes returned to his duties as the Sheriff of the county, and Justice Meade returned to his home in Wyoming, to arrange his affairs to leave it forever. It was clearly seen there could be no more peace for him in that place. He had been a faithful servant of the Pennymites in the land troubles, and they did not now desert him. A tract of land was given him in the western part of the State as compensation for his losses, and he removed to it. There he founded the town of Meadville, and amassed a considerable fortune from the sale of lots. Thus his misfortunes became his good fortune.



Forty Fort.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

PROGRESS AND END OF WYOMING TROUBLES.

STATEMENT BY Charles Miner of the Wyoming troubles. "Meanwhile the inhabitants were not idle. Knowing the influence of public opinion, they sent petitions to the Pennsylvania Assembly, to the Assembly of Connecticut and to Congress, setting forth their wrongs and praying for redress. With commendable promptitude, the Pennsylvania Assembly appointed the members from Northampton county, viz., Jacob Arndt, Jacob Stroud, Jonas Hartzel and Robert Brown, Esquires, a committee to repair to Wyoming and examine into the charges made. Having arrived on the 29th of December, and given notice to accusers and accused, they proceeded to take depositions, remaining in the valley about ten days. Hearing that new and ex parte depositions had been sent down by Justice Patterson, a second petition was sent forward by the settlers declaring their entire submission to the constitution and laws of Pennsylvania, as became good citizens, and beseeching protection. The whole matter was referred to a committee, which reported January 23d, 1784, briefly, that there was nothing proved which could not be remedied by process of law, and that there was no evidence that the irregularities were authorized or sanctioned by Justice Patterson. Daniel Clymer, Esquire, of Berks county, rose, and reading one of the depositions, declared there was evidence enough in that to show that Alexander Patterson ought to be removed. General Robert Brown said he was certain no member of the house could imagine him in the interests of the people of Wyoming beyond the bounds of truth and a desire to do justice. He had visited Wyoming, as one of the committee upon the subject, and had heard all the evidence upon both sides. The wrongs and sufferings of the people of Wyoming he was constrained to declare were intolerable. If there were ever on earth a people deserving redress, it was those people. Let the depositions lying on the table be

read, and afford the House an opportunity to judge. An evident desire was manifested to get rid of the subject; the landholders' interest predominating, Speaker Gray somewhat irregularly remarked from the chair that Justice Patterson had returned to Wyoming; that he could not be prosecuted without being present; that the session was drawing to a close, and important business pressing, which must be laid over, if this matter was pressed. In accordance with these suggestions the subject was allowed to rest. While these measures were in agitation, the policy of Justice Patterson was displayed in causing a petition to be presented, signed by names distinguished among the settlers, complying with his demands, relinquishing the pretended claim under Connecticut and soliciting the bounty of the Assembly, which was somewhat ostentatiously extended to the grants being made to Shepherd, Spalding, and a dozen others, of lands in the western part of the State. The gentlemen answering to those names among the settlers disavowed the proceedings, and whatever became of those land warrants we have been unable to learn.

Other influences, in free States ever potent, began now to affect the interests of the settlers. At the preceding fall election Captain Simon Spaulding and twenty-three others repaired to Northumberland, some of them traveling a hundred miles, and none of them less than sixty, to reach the nearest place for balloting. After taking the oath of allegiance, their ballots were deposited in separate boxes lest they should be deemed irregular; but this caused it to be known for whom they voted. So nearly were parties divided that these twenty-four votes decided the election of a member of the Supreme Executive Council, two Representatives to the Assembly (one of these was Frederick Antes) and the Sheriff. Justice Patterson remonstrated vehemently but unsuccessfully against the commission being given to Henry Antes, Esquire, thus chosen Sheriff of Northumberland county. The Assembly rejected the votes for members, which produced a protest from the minority, brief, but so well drawn, and being the first political Pennsylvania party movement bearing on the affairs of Wyoming, we insert it entire:

"We, whose names are hereto subscribed, considering the security of elections the only safeguard of public liberty and the

peace of the State, do protest against the determination of the House on the Northumberland election, for the following reasons: We conceive the twenty-four votes set aside as illegal were given by legal voters, inasmuch as the persons giving them were in fact in the government (though not in the territory) of Connecticut, which exercised a full jurisdiction over them until the decree at Trenton. We observe that allowing it to be Connecticut, as was contended, until the decree at Trenton, then they may be deemed persons coming from another State, who, producing certificates of their having taken the oath to this State, become by law entitled to vote; this it was fully proved they had done. Of this construction we apprehend there is clear and express precedent in the case of the inhabitants of Westmoreland and Washington, on the settlement of the Virginia line, who were admitted to vote immediately as persons coming from another State.

"We cannot but lament the fatal policy, which, instead of conciliating these people and adopting them as our subjects and citizens, and endearing them to us in political bands, we are straining the laws against them, and the adopted inhabitants of Virginia, and hold ourselves clear of the consequences which must flow from such unadvised proceedings, which, in our judgment, has a strong tendency to revive the dispute which may yet do under the Articles of Confederation, and drive them back to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, which will be more ready to receive them, and renew the old claim, when they find the actual settlers excluded from the common privileges of the citizens of this State. Therefore, we wish it to be known to our constituents, and to the world at large, that we have borne our testimony against the determination on said election."

It seemed as if the very elements had conspired to augment the woes, or to try the fortitude of the Wyoming people. After a winter of unusual severity, about the middle of March the weather became suddenly warm, and on the 13th and 14th rain fell in torrents, melting the deep snows throughout all the hills and valleys in the upper regions watered by the Susquehanna. "The following day," says Chapman, "the ice in the river began to break up and the streams rose with great rapidity. The ice first gave way at the different rapids, and floating down in great masses lodged against the frozen surface of the

more gentle parts of the river, where it remained firm. In this manner several large dams were formed, which caused such an accumulation of water that the river overflowed all its banks, and one general inundation overspread the extensive plains of Wyoming. The inhabitants took refuge on the surrounding heights and saw their property exposed to the fury of the waters. At length the upper dam gave way and the huge masses of ice were scattered in every direction. The deluge bore down upon the dams below—which successively yielded to the insupportable burden, and the whole went off with the noise of contending storms. Houses, barns, fences, stacks of hay and grain were swept off in the general destruction, to be seen no more. The plain on which the village of Wilkesbarre is built, was covered with heaps of ice, which continued a great portion of the following summer. Reduced by successive visitations of ill-fortune to poverty, this providential infliction sweeping off many dwellings with their furniture, rude though they were, hasty substitutes for those the savages had destroyed; the loss of provisions, clothing, cattle and hay, left numbers a prey to extreme sufferings, which their neighbors were in no condition to relieve. Learning the distressing event, President Dickinson (with gratitude and honor be it recorded) sent the following message to the Assembly on the 31st of March:

“Gentlemen: The late inundation having reduced many of the inhabitants of Wyoming to great distress, we should be glad your honorable House would make some immediate provision for their relief.”

Pennsylvania, in every other instance just to a scruple and generous to profusion, yet under the influence of land speculators, the Assembly labored under too deep a prejudice to regard the settlers as objects of commiseration or charity, and no aid was afforded. The welcome and abundant shad fishing that ensued, alone prevented actual starvation. With the opening of spring, the soldiery began to remove fences, disregarding the Connecticut boundaries, and establishing those of the Pennsylvania surveys. Resistance was made, and a determination avowed not to submit peaceably to the measure, the people insisting on a legal trial, declaring that to a regular and fair judicial decision they would yield implicit if not cheerful obedience. Forthwith more vigorous and decisive measures were resolved

upon, and Justice Patterson, to prepare the mind of Council, wrote to the President the last of April the following pregnant intimation: "I therefore humbly hope that if any dangerous or seditious commotion should arise in this county, so remote from the seat of government, that it may not be construed into a want of zeal or love for the commonwealth, if we should, through dire necessity, be obliged to do something not strictly consonant to the letter of the law."

On the 13th and 14th of May the soldiery were sent forth, and at the point of the bayonet, with the most high-handed arrogance, dispossessed a hundred and fifty families; in many instances set fire to their dwellings, avowing the intention utterly to expel them from the country. Unable to make any effectual resistance, the people implored for leave to remove either up or down the river in boats, as with their wives and children in the state of the roads it would be impossible to travel. A stern refusal met this seemingly reasonable request, and they were directed to take the Lackawaxen road, as leading most directly to Connecticut. But this way consisted of sixty miles of wilderness with scarcely a house, the roads wholly neglected during the war, and they then begged leave to take the Easton or the Stroudsburg road, where bridges spanned the larger streams still swollen with recent rains. All importunities were in vain, and the people fled toward the Delaware, objects of destitution and pity that should have moved a heart of marble. About five hundred men, women and children, with scarce provisions to sustain life, plodded their weary way, mostly on foot, the road being impassable for wagons; mothers carrying their infants and pregnant women literally waded streams, the water reaching to their armpits, and at night slept on the naked earth, the Heavens their canopy, with scarce clothes to cover them. A Mr. Gardner and John Jenkins, Esq., (who had been a representative in the Connecticut Assembly, and was chairman of the town meeting, which, in 1775, had adopted those noble resolutions in favor of liberty), both aged men and lame, sought their way on crutches. Little children, tired with traveling, crying to their mothers for bread, which they had not to give them, sunk from exhaustion into stillness and slumber; while the mothers could only shed tears of sorrow and compassion, till in sleep they forgot their grief and cares. Several of the unhappy sufferers died in the wilderness, others were taken sick from

excessive fatigue and expired soon after reaching the settlement. A widow, whose husband had been slain in the war, endured inexpressible hardships. One child died, and she buried it as she could beneath a hemlock log, probably to be disinterred from its shallow covering and be devoured by wolves.

Wherever the news of this outrage extended, not on the Wyoming settlers alone, but on the common rights of humanity and justice, feelings of indignation were awakened and expressed too emphatic to be disregarded. In no part of the Union were the sympathies of the people more generously aroused than among the just and good people of Pennsylvania. The influence brought to bear on the government produced the instant dismissal of the troops, and Captains Shrawder and Christie were ordered, on the 13th of June, to discharge their respective companies. Justice Patterson forthwith, by his own authority, re-enlisted for the land claimants about one-half of the most desperate already in their interest, in whom he could rely, and set at once the settlers and the Commonwealth at defiance. Henry Antes, Sheriff of Northumberland county, on learning the disorders that prevailed, hastened to Wyoming to restore, if possible, the reign of law. Messengers were despatched after the exiles with invitations to return and promises of protection. Gladdened by these cheering tidings, the settlers returned, assisted by the never failing benevolence of the people of New Jersey and Pennsylvania along the Delaware; but on their arrival they found that Sheriff Antes was powerless against the illegal and desperate forces of Patterson. No homes opened their doors to receive them, for their farms were in the possession of others. Thus situated they encamped among the clefts of the rocks on the eastern mountains, where a cave was strengthened for their headquarters, and received the name of Fort Lillope. Justice Patterson, unbroken in spirit and inflamed to the most vengeful resentment by the return of the fugitives, sent a flag of truce and offered to those who had resided in Wilkesbarre leave to return to their habitations in town, promising them protection. Several men who placed confidence enough in his honor to visit the place, were seized, tied up and cruelly beaten with iron ramrods. Sheriff Antes, being set at defiance by the now lawless garrison, returned to Northumberland, inculcating patience and promising early assistance to the people. Tired of their comfortless residence, Fort Lillope, which had been occupied

since the 30th of May, was abandoned on the 3d of July, and the Yankees removed to Kingston, taking up their quarters at Abraham's (now Tuttle's) creek.

In the meantime a company of thirty young men had associated to defend the settlers and secure the ripening harvests. Armed and prepared for labor or war, on the 20th of July, they were marching from Kingston to Shawney, when, on Ross Hill, they met a larger party of Patterson's new levies, who opened fire upon the Yankees, by which Elisha Garret and Chester Pierce were slain. The Yankees promptly returned the fire, by which several of Patterson's men were wounded. The dead were buried amid deep execrations at the cruelty of Patterson, which had led to this civil war, mingling with the cries of woe. A general rally of the settlers, able to bear arms, was the consequence. Forty-two effective and twenty old men mustered under Captain John Franklin, at Kingston, marched down the west side of the river to Shawney, dispossessing every Pennsylvania family, except, from humanity, those of the wounded men. Franklin then crossed over to Nanticoke and marched up, turning out every settler that did not hold under the Connecticut claim, driving them to the Fort, which was immediately surrounded. Civil war to blood now openly prevailed. With equal spirit and policy the garrison, to dispossess the Yankees of several houses from which they were annoyed, made a sortie and set fire to twenty-three buildings, which were consumed. The Fort mounted four pieces of cannon, the ancient four pounder and three others left by Sullivan's army, but destitute of suitable ammunition. The small arms with cartridges, provided for the companies of Shrawder and Christie, amounting to a hundred and thirty, were in good condition and afforded the besieged party, consisting of more than a hundred men, ample means of resistance. From time to time messengers arrived from Northumberland, dissuading from hostilities and promising protection from the civil authorities. Well inclined as the Magistrates doubtless were, they had no authority to embody an armed force, without which their presence in the existing state of excited passions would, they well imagined, prove wholly inefficacious. Having taken possession of the grist mill at Mill creek, the only one in the settlement, the settlers kept it running night and day to provide flour for themselves and their friends for future emergencies, as well as for present wants. Captain

John Franklin was entrusted with the command of the besieging forces, and before storming the Fort sent in the following summons: "Gentlemen: In the name and behalf of the inhabitants of this place who hold their lands under the Conecticut claim, and were lately without law, or even the color of law, driven from their possessions in a hostile and unconstitutional manner, we, in the name of those injured and incensed inhabitants, demand an immediate surrender of your garrison into our hands, together with our possessions and property; which, if complied with, you shall be treated with humanity and commiseration, otherwise the consequences shall prove fatal and bloody to every person found in the garrison. We give you two hours for a decisive answer, and will receive the same at Mr. Bailey's." The summons was received with scorn. A vigorous attack was made on the Fort; several lives were lost, both parties being sufferers, but the Yankees were compelled to retire, and took up their former position at Forty Fort.

Forty of the Pennsylvania party concerned in the expulsion of the inhabitants, among whom were Justice Patterson and Major James Moore, were indicted by the Grand Jury at Sunbury, and Sheriff Antes was sent to Wyoming to arrest them; but his efforts were unavailing, as Patterson and Moore, secure behind their ramparts, set him and his authority at defiance. At a trial subsequently held, Chief Justice McKean presiding, the majesty of the law was nobly vindicated; the rioters (who mortifyingly enough had been arrested by Franklin and Swift, Yankee leaders deputed by the Sheriff), severely fined. The charge of the Judge was long remembered for its just sentiments, its deep feeling, and the impressive manner in which it was delivered; but the fines were never collected.

In obedience to orders from the Supreme Executive Council, Thomas Hewitt, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace, accompanied by John Scott, Esquire, Coroner for Northumberland county, repaired to Wyoming, where they arrived on the 29th of July. A few days afterward they were joined by Sheriff Antes and Justices Meade and Martin, with directions, by the interposition of the authority of the Commonwealth with both parties, to put a stop to hostilities. But the Yankees, having learned that an armed force, partly collected in New Jersey, were assembling at Larner's, under the command of Major

Moore, to reinforce Patterson, had previously detached Captain John Smith, a determined officer, with thirty picked men, to meet, dislodge and defeat them before they could reach the valley. It was certainly unfortunate, for on the 2d of August, the day Sheriff Antes and the Magistrates arrived, Swift met an advanced party at Locust Hill; a battle ensued, one of Moore's men was killed, and several others wounded on both sides, when both parties retired, Moore to Easton and Swift to his post at Kingston. In this instance, the Yankees were charged with an unprovoked murder, as the men attacked were in Northampton county, and had not participated in the disturbances at Wyoming. It was defended as a measure of absolute necessity, and justifiable self-defence, the destination and object of the troops being perfectly understood, and their commander being Major Moore, the active oppressor of the settlers and confidential coadjutor of Patterson's. It afterwards appeared that Moore's company was the advanced guard of a larger force, raised by order of the Supreme Executive Council, and placed under the command of Colonel John Armstrong, Secretary, and the Honorable John Boyd, a member of the Council, who were appointed Commissioners to restore the reign of law and order in the disturbed district. Three hundred infantry and fifteen light dragoons were ordered to be raised from the militia of Northampton and placed at their disposal. Previous to the arrival of Colonel Armstrong, negotiations had been opened by the Magistrates with both contending parties. The letters which passed, their communications to the President of Council, and their report to Messrs. Boyd and Armstrong, are regarded of great importance, as they show officially and incontestably that the Wyoming people were the suffering party; willing to pay obedience to the laws, but driven to arms by unendurable oppression. The sufferings of the Connecticut people had excited indignation and pity throughout the whole country, and several Green Mountain boys, who had gone through a similar struggle with the authorities of New York, had come to Wyoming and volunteered their assistance to the settlers.

By the first Constitution of Pennsylvania, which was established immediately after the Declaration of Independence, the government of the Commonwealth was vested in a House of Representatives and a President and Council. Another Coun-

cil was also established, called the Council of Censors, who were chosen by the people, and directed to meet every seventh year, "And whose duty it shall be," says the constitution, "to inquire whether the Constitution has been preserved inviolate in every part, and whether the legislative and executive branches of the government have performed their duty as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers than they are entitled to by the Constitution. They are also to inquire whether the public taxes have been justly laid and collected in all parts of the Commonwealth; in what manner the public moneys have been disposed of, and whether the laws have been duly executed. For these purposes they shall have power to send for persons, papers and records. They shall have authority to pass public censures, to order impeachments, and to recommend to the Legislature the repealing of such laws as appear to them to have been enacted contrary to the principles of the Constitution."

This Council met in Philadelphia in the summer of 1784, and took up the case of the Wyoming settlers. The Assembly refused to obey their demand for the records of the disturbances, and all actions concerning it. Then the Censors made this declaration:

"It is the opinion of this Council that the decision made at Trenton early in 1783, between the State of Connecticut and this Commonwealth, concerning the territorial rights of both, was favorable to Pennsylvania. It likewise promised the happiest consequences to the confederacy, as an example was thereby set of two contending sovereignties adjusting their differences in a court of justice instead of involving themselves, and perhaps their confederates, in war and bloodshed. It is much to be regretted that this happy event was not improved on the part of this State, as it might have been. That the persons claiming lands at and near Wyoming, occupied by the emigrants from Connecticut, now become subjects of Pennsylvania, were not left to prosecute their claims in the proper course without the intervention of Legislature. That a body of troops was enlisted after the Indian war had ceased, and the civil government had been established, and stationed at Wyoming for no other apparent purpose than that of promoting the interests of the claimants of the former grants of Pennsylvania. That

Centenary Hall Goodland Hall Commercial Hall Union Hall.



these troops were kept up and continued there without the license of Congress, in violation of the confederation. That they were suffered, without restraint, to injure and oppress the neighboring inhabitants during the course of the last winter. That the injuries done to these people excited the compassion and interposition of the State of Connecticut, who thereupon demanded of Congress another hearing, in order to investigate the private claims of the settlers at Wyoming, formerly inhabitants of New England, who from this instance of partiality in our own rulers, have been led to distrust the justice of the State, when in the meantime numbers of these soldiers and other disorderly persons, in a most riotous and inhuman manner expelled the New England settlers before mentioned, and drove them towards the Delaware through unsettled and almost impassable ways, leaving those unhappy outcasts to suffer every species of misery and distress. That this armed force, stationed as aforesaid at Wyoming, as far as we can see without any public advantage in view, has cost the Commonwealth the sum of four thousand four hundred and sixty pounds and upwards, for the bare levying, providing, and paying of them, besides other expenditures of public moneys. That the authority for embodying these troops was given privately and unknown to the good people of Pennsylvania, the same being directed by a mere resolve of the House of Assembly, brought in and read the first time on Monday, the 22d of September, 1783, when, on motion and on special order, the same was read the second time and adopted. That the putting of this resolve on the secret journal of the House, and concealing it from the people after the war with the savages had ceased, and the inhabitants of Wyoming had submitted to the government of the State, sufficiently marks and fixes the clandestine and partial interests of the armament, no such condition having been thought necessary in the defence of the northern and western frontiers during the late war. And lastly, we regret the fatal example which this transaction has set of private persons, at least equally able with their opponents to maintain their own cause, procuring the interest of the commonwealth in their behalf, and the aid of the public treasury. The opprobrium which from hence has resulted to this State, and the dissatisfaction and prospect of dissension now existing with one of our sister States, the violation

of the confederation and the injury hereby done to such of the Pennsylvania claimants of lands at Wyoming, occupied as afore-said, as have given no countenance to but on the contrary have disavowed these extravagant proceedings. In short, we lament that our government has in this business manifested little wisdom or foresight; nor have acted as guardians of the rights of the people committed to their care. Impressed with the multiplied evils which have sprung from the imprudent management of this business, we hold it up to public censure, to prevent, if possible, further instances of bad government which might convulse and distract our new formed nation."

Frederick A. Muhlenberg was President of the Council.

The Assembly disregarded this communication.

The conduct of Sheriff Antes, in the Wyoming affair, can now be judged as a matter of history. Then, in the thickest of the fray, he could not please both sides to the controversy. As an officer of Pennsylvania it was his duty to uphold the laws of the State, and yet he had no right to go beyond the plain legal requirements of the case. What this included was the question for him to meet before the Council of Censors, who would review his entire course. It is gratifying to know that he seemed to act on the line of their judgments, and not on the line of the Assembly, which was under the power and control of the great land speculators. After Antes had been so brutally defied by Patterson and his minions, came the episode of the Green Mountain boys, and the Pennsylvania land grabbers learned that the spirit of freedom, awakened and developed by the Revolution, was not diverted by the ending of the war, but was ready to flame up upon the least provocation. With the influx of such a class the question of subduing the Connecticut claimants was farther from settlement than ever. Nominally the laws of Pennsylvania were administered by the authorities from Northumberland, but in point of fact the Wyoming people were left largely to manage their own affairs. This was the policy that Sheriff Antes pursued, and in it was justified by those most familiar with the case.

The Sheriff was not interested in the question from a financial standpoint. Thus he was not one of the involved participants, as were Justices Meade and Patterson. He was also well enough acquainted with the principles of law to comprehend the force of the issue, and the arguments of the Connecticut men for their perse-

verence in holding the land and persuading others from their State to settle with them. He also knew the trend of opinion among the frontiersmen, and was too wise to set himself against them without just cause. Moreover, he was one of the justices who held right and justice constantly before his eyes. Hence, in the most painful stages of this controversy, he was recognized by both parties as friendly to the Yankees, and disposed to use his office as little to their injury as was possible.

There was a party of men on the West Branch who assured the Connecticut men that they would help them as auxiliaries if need be. Who these men were, we do not know. It is not unreasonable to suppose the Fair Play settlers would take such a position. And also other men, who had felt the heavy hand of the rich men as they deprived them of the chance to secure for their families a good home.

In these backwoods cabins the prejudice of social position ran high, and the natural abandon of their unsettled way of living encouraged them to engage in a fray of this kind. But these men were the friends and neighbors of the genial Sheriff, and he evidently did not discourage their expression of sentiment. The story of the sufferings of those dispossessed by the soldiers, and driven toward the Delaware, would find irrepressible sympathy in nearly every cabin home. Hence, Antes did not pursue the Yankees, who sought to evade his writs, with very much energy, but looked toward the officials of the State for the manifestation of either the spirit of conciliation or the authority for more determined coercion. This latter course the officials were not ready to pursue. There were powerful friends back of the Connecticut people. There were the Wolcotts, Barlows, Hosmers and Judds, of Connecticut (than whom there were no nobler men in the United States), with money and influence to back them. Also the celebrated hero of the Revolution, General Ethan Allen, of Ticonderaga fame, who had come to Wyoming to offer himself, and plenty of Vermont men, to take an active hand in the matter of rights to a home by the common people. Besides, the army of the settlers had increased until there were not less than six hundred effective fighting men. And now there was also a well established form of local government in operation showing that the people were not a horde but a municipality. The authorities plainly saw that the day had gone by for such men as Patterson

and Armstrong to rule over them. It was fortunate at this crisis that the Sheriff was a man of prudence and in sympathy with the liberty-loving masses, and that he was disposed to look the other way when some of the hot-heads were so foolish as to infringe the strict letter of the law.

The Assembly recognized the need of the hour, and made it possible for the people to decide the question of their own local government by erecting a new county covering the disputed territory, and calling it after the noted French General Luzerne, who had been a staunch friend of the colonies in the Revolution.

It is true it took some years to reduce everything to the condition of peace, but it stopped the spirit of rebellion, and assured the loyalty of the people to the State. It is now evident that if Sheriff Antes had been vindictive, and determined to break the Connecticut people to his will, that the spirit of rebellion would have gathered so many elements around it as to create a rebellion far more powerful than that of the Fries or of Shays, and might have disrupted the union of the colonies, and have rendered the formation of a Republic impossible. In which case there would have been either the establishment of a kingdom, as many hoped, or a number of independent colonies or republics, which would be constantly clashing and warring with each other. At this day we can scarcely realize the intense feeling in that day regarding the preservation of the rights of the people. It is evident that the safe steering of the ship of State was by a divine providence, and that one of the factors in that complicated problem was the wise and noble-hearted Sheriff of Northumberland county. With the erection of Luzerne county, September 25th, 1786, the authority of Antes ceased in that section, and he was henceforth received as the guest of the men whom it had been his duty in the preceding years to imprison.

Commission to Henry Antes as Sheriff. John Dickinson, Esq., President of the State of Pennsylvania, to Henry Antes, Sheriff: In the name and by the authority of the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Supreme Executive Council of the said Commonwealth, to Henry Antes, Esquire, of the county of Northumberland, greeting: Know that reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, integrity and ability, we have nominated, constitute and appoint, and do by these presents nominate, constitute and appoint you, the said Henry

Antes, to be Sheriff of the said county of Northumberland. hereby committing the said county of Northumberland, with the appurtenances and the peace within the same, to your care and defence, authorizing and commanding you, the said Henry Antes, to do and perform all the several acts and things in the said county of Northumberland that to the office of Sheriff, according to the laws of the said Commonwealth, as in anywise belong, to hold, exercise and enjoy the said office, with all the rights, fees, perquisites, emoluments and advantages from thence lawfully accruing thereunto of right appertaining, until your term thereon, according to the laws of the said Commonwealth, shall, of course, expire, you behaving yourself well so long in the said office. In testimony whereof, we have caused the seal of the said Commonwealth to be hereunto affixed in Council, under the hand of his Excellency, John Dickinson, Esquire, President, and the seal of the State, at Philadelphia, the 12th day of November, 1784. Attest, James Trimble, for John Armstrong, Secretary.

The position of Sheriff in those primitive days of American society was accompanied with certain surroundings which were not the choice of the official, but a reflex of the humane sentiment of the times. There were many things which brought men under the strong arm of the law, which to-day are merely inconveniences. The officer of the law was the representative of the public, and was compelled to do its will. The courts prescribed the punishment, and the county the buildings and implements. The Sheriff used these as he was directed by the court. The classes of crime were according to the conditions of a new country. There were not only the classes of criminals familiar to our times, but also runaway slaves, derelict redemptioners, depredators on the lands of the Indians, squatters on Proprietary lands, and various classes of debtors. The law seemed to be merciless. The idea was vengeance. It was punishment, and not reformation. The good that would accrue to the prisoner was not considered; he was an enemy to society, and as such must receive the severest inflictions of the law. It often happened that innocent men were caught in the law's embraces, and because of the long delays, suffered unspeakable miseries. It also became possible for a Justice to wreak his personal vengeance on a personal enemy, and thus strike terror into the hearts of those who would attempt to resist his

will. It gave to his position a power that far exceeded the power to-day ascribed to those known as political bosses. Alexander Patterson took advantage of this power and attempted to wreak vengeance upon Colonel Zebulon Butler by sending him to prison in the Northumberland county jail at Sunbury. This furnished the opportunity for Colonel Antes to checkmate Patterson by releasing Butler on bail, and thus keep him out of the misery as well as the disgrace of the prison. This, too, was the reason why other men were sent to another jail than that of Sunbury; because the merciful disposition of Sheriff Antes stood in the way of the personal vengeance of Patterson. This was also the reason why Antes was not allowed to convey the troupe of prisoners from Wyoming to Sunbury, for it was an assured fact that on the way he would allow no brutalities to be inflicted on them. In this respect Antes was superior to his times in the quality of mercy, and the friend of those whom it was his duty to punish.

Antes was not ignorant of the sufferings of the people consigned to prison. In Philadelphia at this time, and to a greater or lesser degree in all the prisons of the State, the branding iron, the tread mill, the pillory and stocks, the wheelbarrow, and the weight of clogs and chains hung about the necks of prisoners, the whipping-post, and the knife for clipping the ears, were in constant use. At that time there were only ten Sheriffs in Pennsylvania, and these were subject to the authority of the Supreme Executive Council, of which John Dickinson was President. Thus there would be a spirit of rivalry as to which could make the better report of the services in his bailiwick to the Council. And also a better opportunity for the Sheriff to be brought to task for failure to do the duties of his office. The court house and jail (being one building) to serve the county of Northumberland, was erected in 1776, at a cost of \$4,000. The whipping-post was set up on the green in front of the prison.

The description of the prisons of that day are almost incredible. In Philadelphia the keeps were eighteen feet by twenty, and so crowded at night that each prisoner had a space of only six feet by two to lie down in. In some of the jails in Massachusetts the cells were so small that the prisoners were lodged in hammocks one over the other. At Worcester, the cells were only four feet high by eleven feet long, and without a window

or chimney, or even a hole in the wall. At Northampton the cells were scarcely four feet high and were ventilated through the privy vaults which filled the cells with noxious vapors. But the awful life of the criminal sufferers of that day can be imagined from the description of the Newgate prison in an old worked out copper mine near Granby, Connecticut. "The only entrance to it was by means of a ladder down a shaft which led to the caverns under ground. There in little pens of wood, from thirty to one hundred culprits were immured, their feet made fast to iron bars, and their necks chained to beams in the roof. The darkness was intense, the caves reeked with filth, vermin abounded, water trickled from the roof and oozed from the sides of the cavern. Huge masses of earth were perpetually falling off. In the dampness and filth the clothing of the prisoners grew mouldy and rotted away, and their limbs became stiff with rheumatism." No wonder that Colonel Butler, who had claimed to be a Justice of Connecticut, had a horror of prisons.

In the larger prisons, such as in Philadelphia, the life of the inmates was in the midst of almost every vileness. Both sexes and all manner of criminals were herded together. There prostitutes plied their trade. The most disgusting diseases were contagious. Here, subject to these conditions, were decent men and women put in prison because they were unfortunate, because of sickness, or lack of work, or the poverty that came from the loss of investments, or the depreciation of the currency, and consequently were not able to meet their obligations, and the creditor was implacable. To prison these people went, and life ever after was an awful reminder of the tortures the mercilessness of man could inflict. The law was also terribly severe in regard to certain forms of crime. In Delaware, burglary, rape, sodomy, witchcraft and sixteen other crimes were punished by death. In Massachusetts, ten forms of crime were punished by death. In Rhode Island, several forms of crime were punished by branding, that became a perpetual mark of shame. There a counterfeiter had a piece of his ear cut off, and a large letter C branded on his forehead. In Vermont, an adulteress wore the scarlet letter. Thus, indeed, the fate of one once a criminal was to be always a criminal. But this severity and inhumanity did not stop the commission of these crimes.

While Colonel Antes was Sheriff, a notorious thief was arrested and tried, and his sentence was as follows: "He shall receive thirty-nine lashes between eight and nine o'clock to-morrow morning, stand in the pillory one hour, his ears shall be cut off and nailed to the post, he shall be imprisoned three months, and shall pay a fine of thirty pounds to the President of the State for the use of the government." From these instances it can be readily seen what the fate of the Wyoming prisoners would have been if Colonel Antes had not been their friend.

We can imagine a meeting of the county Sheriffs of the State in Philadelphia, at the time of receiving their commissions from the Executive Council, and their going to the London Coffee House to have a fraternal dinner, and tell their experiences and contrast their duties as they developed in their respective counties. We listen to the Sheriff of Philadelphia, speaking as follows: "The people who pass along the street beneath the walls of the prison in their grand clothes and pompous manners, little reckon the state of their fellows only separated from them by the stone walls they are touching. In the prison no attendance is provided for the sick; no clothes are distributed to the naked; beds are thrown out because they soon become alive with vermin; prisoners go for years without washing themselves or cutting their hair; some of these have their bodies covered with scabs and lice, and have a horrible odor. There are the most offensive of skin diseases and the death rate is often sixty in one thousand. They are like wild beasts and are as merciless toward each other as the people outside are to them. When a newcomer enters, the old prisoners rush at him and tear all his clothes from him, and let him stand naked until his clothes are redeemed by drink money. If he hesitates, they take a blanket, which they have reserved for the purpose, and toss him up until he is nearly dead, and give them what they ask. Then they take the drink money and send out for rum, which they drink, and hold a high carnival that for indecency exceeds anything known among civilized people. It is a veritable pandemonium. A Philadelphia prison is where the beastliness of man reveals itself."

With such experiences the Sheriffs of that day felt that they were doing the public good service when they inflicted the severest penalties of the law upon the men who despised the law and gave themselves to crime for the sake of the evil there was in it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CONSTITUTION.

WHILE Henry Antes was earnestly trying to be just to all, and at the same time true to his oath as Sheriff, the entire State was in a political ferment. The election for President and Vice President of the State occurred in October, 1785, and the two parties, the Constitutionals and the Republicans, were marshalling their forces so vigorously that many thought the Commonwealth would be torn to pieces by the contending factions. At such a time the treatment of the Wyoming settlers called for the most diplomatic skill, and the parties in power were compelled to restrain their selfish aggrandizement for the sake of winning voters to continue them in office.

In August the announcement was made that Dr. Franklin was coming home from France. He had been absent for ten years, and had clothed himself with honor by the skill with which he had influenced the closing negotiations establishing the liberty of the American Republic. Immediately many of the most prominent men looked to him as the one man who could restore peace to the distracted Commonwealth. One of the newspapers contained the following article only a week or two before his arrival:

“The expected arrival of that great philosopher, that great politician, and, to add a wreath of glory of a more immortal texture, that truly benevolent citizen of the world, Dr. Franklin, in this State, cannot fail to produce a most sensible effect on the public weal. To doubt of his being chosen President on the vacation of that office, should he fortunately arrive prior thereto, would be to call in question not only the honor and gratitude, but even the common sense of Pennsylvania. With his profound penetration, which will instantaneously see through the complicated system of government, and develop the most minute incoherence or irregularity capable of impeding the progress of society toward perfection; with his benevolence, his magnanim-

ity and his unbounded patriotism, with his capacious understanding and enlarged views, which will teach him to despise equally those members of both parties, who, under the false mask of patriotism, have no other views than their own aggrandizement, and to select from both parties those whose only object is the safety and well-being of the State, and whose only difference is in the mode of promoting that object, he will authoritatively command the effectual support of all the real friends of Pennsylvania. Confided in and obeyed by all persons of this description, he will, doubtless, induce our contending parties to bury the war hatchets, to send the belt of peace, and to embrace each other as brethren."

The election lay with the Executive Council and the Assembly, consisting of seventy-seven votes. Frederick Antes was a member of this Assembly, and had the honor of casting his vote for Franklin. In 1776 Franklin was the President of the Convention that gave to Pennsylvania its Constitution. From that work he was called to serve his country in Europe. Frederick Antes was a member of that Convention. Now, on Franklin's return to his country and to the Presidency of the State, no one could greet him more warmly than Antes, who from him had so largely imbibed the political sentiments that, in due time, were to so thoroughly affect the prosperity and happiness of the entire land.

McMaster tells us: "When the year 1784 opened, the Revolution had been accomplished. The preliminary articles had been signed on the 30th of November, 1782, and the return of peace everywhere celebrated with bonfires, with rockets, with speeches, and with thanksgiving on the 19th of the following April, the eighth anniversary of the fight at Lexington. The definitive treaty had been signed at Paris on the third of September, 1783, and was soon to be ratified by the United States in Congress assembled. The Revolution was at last accomplished. The evils it had removed, being no longer felt, were speedily forgotten. The evils it had brought pressed heavily upon them. They could devise no remedy. They saw no way of escape. They soon began to grumble, became sullen, hard to please, dissatisfied with themselves and with everything done for them. The States, differing in habits, in customs, in occupations, had been during a few years united by a common danger. But the

danger was gone; old animosities and jealousies broke forth again with all their strength, and the Union seemed likely to be dissolved. In this state of public discontent the House met at Philadelphia early in January, 1784. The matters relating to the treatment of the Tories were at variance with the feelings of the people and there was a great cry against the concessions offered. The feeling against the Tories was intense. The great Whig party was divided into classes. One of them insisted on the most extreme measures against those who had done so much to injure them during the Revolutionary war. Another was for using milder measures and giving to them a welcome back to their homes and a place in the privileges of the country. Yet another section of the party was between these extremes, and disposed to effect a compromise in regard to their rights. The one party would be content with nothing less than the banishment of the Tories. The Tories still hoped for power and place, and nursed the delusion that after awhile all would be forgotten. Yet they were responsible for the bitterness of the extreme Whigs, for they continued in a strong and openly expressed attachment to Great Britain. Washington had retired to his home at Mount Vernon and the prestige of his name had been removed from the government.

The open contempt with which, in all parts of the country, the people treated the recommendation of Congress concerning the refugees and the payment of the debts, was no more than any man of ordinary sagacity could have foretold. Indeed, the state into which Congress had fallen was most wretched. Rudely formed amid the agonies of a Revolution, the Confederation had never been revised and brought nearer to perfection in a season of tranquility. Each of the thirteen States the Union bound together retained all the rights of sovereignty, and asserted them punctiliously against the central government. Each reserved to itself the right to put up mints, to strike money, to levy taxes, to raise armies, to say what articles should come into its ports free, and what should be made to pay duty. Toward the Continental government they acted precisely as if they were dealing with a foreign power. Every act of that body was scrutinized with the utmost care. The transfer of the most trivial authority beyond the borders of the State was made with protestations, with trembling and with fear.

Under such circumstances each delegate felt himself to have much the character and to be clothed with very much of the power of ambassadors. He was not responsible to men, he was responsible to a State. To him the smallest interest of the little patch of earth he called his native State was of far more importance than the greatest interest of the Confederation of States.

There was a difficulty in getting a quorum in their sessions. No occasion, however impressive and important, could call out a large attendance. Seven States, represented by twenty delegates, witnessed the resignation of Washington. Twenty-three members sitting for eleven States voted for the ratification of the treaty. On such questions as came up from day to day: should the accounts of some quartermaster be audited, should a reward be offered for the capture of some highwayman who had robbed the mails, should some cannon be returned to New York, should a committee be appointed to devise plans for cutting up the western lands, who should be geographer for the next year, what should be done with the man who had assaulted the French Minister in Philadelphia, the assent of a majority of the States was sufficient, and, on the largest ballot the House could cast, six votes could make the question pass in the negative. It is not surprising, therefore, that Congress speedily degenerated into a debating club of no very high order. Neglected by its own members, insulted and threatened by its mutinous troops, reviled by the press, and forced to wander from city to city in search of an abiding place, its acts possessed no national importance whatever.

Patriotism was understood to mean devotion to the interests and welfare of one's native State.

The great Whig party was split into two sections—the impost and the non-impost men; the defenders and the detractors of Congress. In the first section, decidedly the more respectable, were to be found the merchants and the importers of the great towns, the holders of loan certificates, the hard money men, and that little band of staunch patriots from which in after years came the heads of the Federal party and the first five Presidents. On the other side was the great body of the middle orders, the farmers, the shop keepers, the supporters of paper money, all those who clamored for State rights and all those who found themselves steeped in debt and could not pay.

With them were associated many good, brave and moderate men, who, while they gave an earnest support to the established government, looked with painful misgiving on every attempt to enlarge its powers as an attack on the independence of the States.

The same post that brought to New England the news of the adjournment of Congress brought also a startling account of the harsh and savage treatment of the Yankee settlers in Wyoming.

To oppress the settlers in Wyoming was one thing. To defy the Council of Censors was quite another thing. So long as the Assembly sent its soldiers to drive the hated Yankees from a section of the State far away from the seat of government, nobody cared. The Pennsylvanians were not harrassed, their fences were not pulled down, their fields were not laid waste, their wives were not abused, their houses were not burned, nor were they sent across the wilderness to die of hunger by the way. But when the Censors were withstood—the Censors, who were the bulwark against the tyranny of officials and the unjust acts of law-makers, the people were greatly alarmed. Then on a sudden much sympathy was felt for the expelled settlers. The action of the Assembly was severely criticised. Armstrong and Patterson were pronounced brutes, and were, under the pressure of popular indignation, speedily recalled. At the same time the Legislature commanded that the Connecticut claimants should be restored to the full possession of their property.

The progress of the country caused many important questions to arise that needed adjustment and decision. There were the questions of representation at foreign courts, the debt of Congress, the issuing of money, the free navigation of the Mississippi and various commercial problems. The country south of the Potomac was affected in a way almost directly opposite to that of the country north of the river. In September, 1785, the Commissioners who met at Annapolis recommended Congress to call a Federal Convention, to meet in Philadelphia in the following spring. At Annapolis the attendance was slim. No delegates came from Georgia, from South Carolina, or from any State east of the Hudson. The session was a short one, for the few who came had such limited powers that the delegates

contented themselves with lamenting the wretched state of national affairs, and urging a new convention of delegates, with enlarged powers, to meet at Philadelphia in May.

When this Convention met, it was composed of the most noted and able men in all the country. They took up the matter with due gravity and based their discussions upon a plan that had been most carefully prepared and was offered by the delegates from Virginia. When Monday, the 17th of September, came, the Convention assembled for the last time, and the Constitution, as we now have it, was laid upon the table for signature. Washington was the first to sign. It was long popularly believed that, as he stood beside the table with his hand upon the Constitution, he held up the pen and said: "Should the States reject this excellent Constitution, the probability is that opportunity will never again offer to cancel another in peace; the next will be drawn in blood." The President was bidden to draw up a letter of transmittal and send it, with the Constitution, to Congress.

The ship Constitution, as the friends of that instrument delighted to call it, was thus fairly launched. From that moment dates the existence of the two great national parties, which, under many different names and on many different platforms, have ever since continued to struggle for supremacy in the State. In all parts of the land, it is true, men were, after the return of peace, divided by their political opinions, into two classes. Everywhere were the imposters and the non-imposters; hard money men and soft money men; patriots who favored the strengthening, and State-righters, who urged the weakening of the power of Congress. But these classes were in no sense national parties. They had no organization, they had no leaders, no platforms, no watchwords, no names. They were purely local, and the followers of the one as well as of the other would have denied, with vehemence, that they were anything else than staunch and honest Whigs. When, however, the people were bidden to choose between the old Articles of Confederation and the new Constitution, between a sham union of the States and a strong National Government, a change came about. An issue was raised. Something was at stake, and the Whig party was rent in twain. Leaders appeared; standards were set up. The name of Whig fell for a time into disuse, and under the appella-

tion of Federalist and Anti-Federalist the two sections of a once harmonious party drew farther and farther apart and began a contest on a national scale.

The conflict opened in Pennsylvania. Such, indeed, was the zeal that animated the little band of Federalists in that State, that twenty hours after Congress had formally submitted the Constitution to the people, a call for a convention was hurried through the Assembly. The matter had, it is true, been under debate the day before, and had been marked by the first show of party violence. Late in the morning session of Friday, September 28th, 1787, Clymer, who sat for Philadelphia, and had been one of the delegates to the Federal Convention, rose in his place, and without previous notice moved a State Convention to consider the Constitution. The Anti-Federalists were astounded. The session of the Assembly was all but over. A new election was at hand, and they had therefore never for a moment supposed that the instrument would be taken up by the House so soon to adjourn. Their plan was to make it a question in the ensuing canvass, and to secure, if possible, such a majority of men of their own mind in the next Legislature as would prevent the hated document being submitted to the people. Clymer's motion accordingly found them off their guard, and forced to combat it with such plausible arguments as came to them at the instant. This haste they said was both unseemly and unparliamentary. The Convention had sent the Constitution to Congress. Congress had not yet sent it to the States, and till this was formally done it was simply indecent to know anything about it. It was, too, a constant practice with the members, when any business of great moment was to come up, to give notice and have it made the order of the day some time beforehand. Besides, no bill was ever passed without at least three readings. This was not a loose but a strict rule of the House; so strict, indeed, that not even the building of a bridge or the laying out of a road could be determined till the formality had been gone through with. Yet here were members clamoring for the passage of a most important bill, sprung upon the House without the usual notice, and without the usual readings. It was all wrong. The House would on the following day break up, and the whole matter should be left to the next Assembly. But their arguments were of no use. Their

voices were drowned amid cries of "question," and when the Speaker put it, of the sixty-two members present, forty-three voted for and nineteen against it. The House then adjourned till four P. M. The rage of the nineteen flamed high. It was impossible for them to find words wherewith to express their indignation. They met hastily, declared that if they could not defeat the attempt to call a Convention by their votes they could by their absence, gave a solemn pledge not to return to the House, and kept it. When four o'clock came, but forty-five, two more than those who had voted for the Convention, were in their seats. This number was two less than a quorum, and till a quorum was assembled no business could be done. After waiting some time, and no more members coming in, the Speaker commanded the Sergeant-at-Arms to go out and summon the absent ones. He went, was gone a long while, and when he came back was questioned at the bar. He had, he said, gone to the house of one Boyd, had there found Whitehill, Smilie, Antes and some other noted Anti-Federalists, had summoned them in the name of the House, and received in reply a firm assurance that they would on no account obey. Nothing was left the Speaker to do but to adjourn the Assembly till Saturday.

Meanwhile news of what had happened in the State House, and the names of the nineteen seceding members, spread fast through the town. All that evening and till late in the night crowds filled the taverns and coffee houses, or stood on the street corners, angrily discussing the situation and forming plans for the morrow. The anti-Federalists were triumphant and defiant. The Federalists were much disheartened. Some were for concession. But a few more zealous than the rest determined that a quorum should be formed, come what might. If two of the dissenters could not be persuaded to go they should be made to go. The two chosen for this treatment were James McCalmont, who sat for Franklin, and Jacob Miley, who represented Dauphin. Early on the morning of Saturday a great crowd gathered, accordingly, about their lodgings, broke open the doors, laid hold upon them, and dragged them, cursing and struggling, through the streets to the State House. There they were forced into their places and held down in their seats with clothes disordered and torn, and faces white from rage. Thus having a quorum, the first Tuesday in November was moved as elec-

tion day, and the thirtieth of the same month for the meeting of the convention.

The first of October was now come, and the day on which the delegates were to be chosen was but six weeks away. The whole State was in commotion. The inhabitants of every town and hamlet from the Susquehanna to the Ohio were arrayed against each other as Federalists or Anti-Federalists, supporters or detractors of the Constitution. The canvass would under any circumstances have been conducted with much acrimony and zeal. The State was one of the largest and most populous in the Union. Within her borders lay the greatest and richest city of the western world. And that city had for many years been the seat of the National Government. Each party knew, therefore, that the eyes of the whole country were upon it, and that failure or success would be the making or the undoing of its friends in the neighboring States. But a peculiar bitterness was given to the electioneering by the fact that the principles of government, as laid down in the Federal Constitution, were almost precisely the opposite of the principles of the government laid down in the State Constitution. Pennsylvania was at that time one of the few Commonwealths of America where men had been bold enough and weak enough to make trial of the wild theory of government Turgot had propagated and Condorcet had praised. The State Constitution provided for but one legislative body. The Federal Constitution provided for two. The President of Pennsylvania was chosen by the Assembly. The President of the United States was to be chosen by electors. The State Government was a centralized democracy. The National Government was to be a Republic of Republics. Every voter, therefore, who helped to send a Federalist to the Convention declared the Government under which he lived to be bad in form.

When the election took place the Federalists triumphed, and Antes was one of the defeated. December 12th, 1787, after a sitting of three weeks, the Constitution was ratified by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three."

"The dragging of McCalmont and Miley to the House, and some gross insults offered in the November following to the members at Boyd's, who were most of them those who had left the Legislature in September, was one principal reason of the removal of the seat of Government from Philadelphia. Many

of the country members declaring they could not speak their sentiments or give their votes freely without risking their being insulted."—*Biddle*.

If the people of Philadelphia had changed their bearing to those from the country, the opposition to meeting in Philadelphia might have passed away, as it was the aristocratic bearing on the one side, and the democratic spirit on the other side that kept up the contest until those from the country were able to accomplish their purpose, and the proud city ceased to be the seat of government.

From that day to this there has been a conviction on the part of many that Philadelphia ought to be the place for the legislative halls and the center of authority, but the prejudices of the past have not yet been sufficiently eradicated to bring it about. The conditions, however, are changed. There is social splendor and courtly living in many parts of the State, and the most potent political factors find their brains and energy in these same counties that were once despised by the aristocracy of the only city in the State. It is difficult at this time to realize the pompous arrogance that so deeply touched the feelings of the country members in that day, but the overthrow of the Federalists, and the attainment of supremacy by the Jeffersonian Democrats, was a lesson that was needed in the preservation of the balance of power in the State.

The spirit of patriotism as it views questions to-day, asks if these nineteen men, opposing all steps toward the change from the Confederation to the Constitution, were lacking in patriotism or in an understanding of the real needs of their land. To answer this question, we must look at the problem as it then presented itself. This can be made evident in the voting of the people throughout the States representing the entire Confederation. On the third of December, 1787, the little State of Delaware unanimously gave her voice in favor of the Constitution. She was the first of the States to thus declare. Ten days later came Pennsylvania, after the troubles attending it we have narrated, and then only with a vote of forty-six to twenty-three. On the nineteenth of December, New Jersey gave a unanimous vote in favor. On the second of January Georgia did the same. On the ninth of January the Connecticut convention adopted it by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight in favor and forty opposed. In Massachusetts, one hundred and eighty-seven voted in favor and one

hundred and sixty-eight opposed. On the twenty-eighth of April, Maryland gave sixty-three votes in favor and twelve against. South Carolina followed, with one hundred and forty in favor and seventy-three opposed. There was a hard struggle in New Hampshire, and the final vote stood fifty-seven to forty-six. This was June 21st, 1788. Virginia was almost rent in twain by the struggle. Washington and Madison were for the Constitution, and Patrick Henry and Jefferson were opposed. The vote was taken the twenty-fifth of June, and was eighty-nine in favor and seventy-nine opposed. New York State was carried in favor of it July 27th, 1788, with the expectation that New York City would be the seat of the Government. North Carolina adopted it November 13th, 1789, and Rhode Island only did so May 29th, 1790, and even then only when certain amendments were adopted which the enlightened spirit of the present age fully approves. These amendments show how much was really lacking in the Constitution, and that the men who did not favor it as first presented were justified to that extent, for their contention. Washington and Jefferson, the leaders of the two parties, were both great men and devoted to their country. But they did not see alike as statesmen, and their followers, the leaders of the two great parties of to-day, do not see alike, yet they may be equally honored as lovers of their country.

Because of the benefits that have come from the change of the form of government, we at the present day can hardly appreciate the difficulties in the way at the beginning, and the lack of integrity on the part of the men in power, in accomplishing their aims. The parties to the question did not have confidence in each other. It was a battle for position and power, and the high and lofty principles seen to-day were then not apparent. The Articles of Confederation had provided for a perpetual Union. It had been explicitly declared that no alteration should at any time be made in any of them unless such alteration should be confirmed by the Legislature of every State. The Convention of 1787 had been called for the sole purpose of revising the previous articles. Instead of doing this, it proceeded to outline an entirely new form of government; and instead of the ratification by all the States, ordained that the consent of nine of the States should suffice to decide the matter, thus entirely ignoring the voice of the remaining States. This violation of the law as sacredly determined was in itself a revolution. Some of the statesmen undoubtedly

realized all that it involved, and they fought it with all their might but the tide was against them. Yet it was only by the victory of the North in the Civil War, seventy-five years later, that the final decision on the matter was made.

The leaders of the two sides were Virginians. Washington was the leader of the party that formed the Constitution, and Jefferson the leader of those who were opposed to it. The people who ranged themselves under these leaders were not always actuated by the principles of broad statesmanship, but often by personal feelings, the result of the experiences through which they had passed.

There were reasons why the people of the country became suspicious of the motives influencing the actions of Washington. He was a man of wealth, and while he had done much for the country in the use of his fortune, he had not been impoverished as so many thousands had been. As a man of wealth, he was fond of the display that it permitted, and gathered about him men who were able to make a corresponding display. The poor patriots of the Revolutionary army had seen enough of this display by the British officers in New York, and Philadelphia, and Boston during the war, and they had a decided hatred of the people of these cities who had curried the favor of the officers by attendance at their balls and receptions, conducted amidst the most elaborate displays of dress and magnificence. Moreover, these balls had been the place where the Tories entered into the most familiar associations with the men who were striking at the liberties of the American people. These Tories were in all the colonies, from every one of which had come the story of the wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon the patriots by the Tories. Now these same Tories ranged themselves in ranks to espouse the Constitution. They were able to attend the balls and receptions given where wealth and display of dress were necessary. Such a spectacle was a shock to the poverty-stricken patriots, who gnashed their teeth with rage as they saw the majority following in that line. The simplicity of Jefferson, contrasted with the elaborate display of Washington, captured the hearts of the common people, and the party in opposition to the Federalists grew stronger until it became the head of the government, and Jefferson sat in the seat of power and honor as the successor of Washington, and President of the United States.

Frederick Antes, driven from his home by the malice of the Tories, and forced to battle for principle in the wilds of the frontier, saw, even there, the same spirit displayed. Several of the prominent men at the seat of government in Northumberland county were Tories. They had wealth. They could buy and sell the properties of their poorer neighbors. They could assist men by loaning money on their small farms and then foreclose when it suited them. Naturally such men were in authority when the voters were silent. But when the masses saw the true nobility of the Antes brothers, they placed them in positions of responsibility and kept them there until the times of trial and contest had settled into the routine of peace.

The fall of the Federal party was because there were in it elements that were entirely contrary to the aspirations of the American people. The class that gathered about those in authority not only became very proud in their manners, but did not hesitate to express their contempt for the common people. The party had been built up by the personal influence of Washington, and the brilliant writings of the gifted Hamilton, and the favor of the merchant class who desired stability in government, and the co-operation of all the office-seekers and the would-be aristocracy. But it lost its hold and was broken down by its arrogance, its insistence upon taxes that the people considered oppressive, its affiliations with Tories, its attempt to follow English ideals, its mistaken legislation, such as in the Alien and Sedition laws, its divided counsels, its animosities and jealousies, and the persistent opposition of Jefferson, who relentlessly pursued it in its weakness, and in the fact of his being the true representative of the wishes and hopes of the patriot classes of American citizens.

Hamilton, Washington and Adams honored wealth, and gave the impression that they relied upon estates and powers within the commonwealth for the perpetuity of power, while Jefferson placed his reliance in the people as the bone and sinew of the land. He objected to the salaries given the officers of government as excessive. He despised the ceremonies that accompanied affairs of state. He wished for more frequent returns of the badge of office from those holding it to the people. He expressed his contempt for the arrogance of the English spirit towards his countrymen, and led them to a greater respect for themselves as the makers of a Nation. Thus the people grew in their

ideas of citizenship, and as they grew turned the Federalists down and placed men of their own aspirations in the highest offices in the land. It was well, however, that the Federalists had prevailed, for they laid a foundation broad enough for all future time, and destined, when rid of its follies, to be the best government for the common people on the face of the earth.

The influence of Jefferson was augmented by his declarations in regard to taxing the people. He decidedly objected to the use of this power by Congress to any extent. His idea was that the wage earners of the United States should never see a tax collector. In this he was opposed by the whole scheme of government established by Hamilton. According to the plan of the latter, Congress, by act of March 3d, 1791, imposed heavy duties upon spirits distilled in the United States. This aroused the people to such an extent that there was open rebellion in Western Pennsylvania. At that time whiskey was a common beverage in every household. All classes of people drank it. It was the first thing to offer a guest. It was the last thing the householder partook of before retiring. It was used freely on every public occasion. A certain amount of it was a part of the daily wage of the workman, whatever be his trade. It was pure in quality and considered an essential part of a man's daily living. There were no large distilleries. Many farmers did their own distilling. There were supposed to be three thousand distilleries in Pennsylvania. Those far from the markets unable to transport their grain in bulk, reduced it to spirits, and thus transported it where they could get a suitable return for their labor. Therefore, when their stills were taxed, and the assessor came to levy on them for the tax, the people felt that it was gross injustice, and unfair discrimination against them as grain producers, and their cause was argued with considerable heat throughout the entire land.

The West Branch Valley shared in the excitement with the rest of the State. The advocates of the whiskey producers determined to erect a Liberty Pole in Northumberland. When the news spread abroad, there was great excitement, and some of the Judges determined to prevent this act of defiance to the law. Some of the officers of the law were in sympathy with the action, and stood by to see the others raise the pole. Pistols were drawn, threats were made, and there was a general fight, but the whiskey friends succeeded and raised their pole. In order to prevent

the pole from being cut down they drove it full of nails to a distance of ten feet from the ground. They took possession of the public arsenal, and distributed the arms among their companions and kept a guard about the pole night and day.

The law-abiding people of the community felt the disgrace of such a rebellion and sent to the Governor for the aid of the State troops. In a few days a company of ninety men came from Lancaster with bayonets on their guns. The Marshall commanded the streets to be cleared, but the mob refused to stir. They were well armed and determined to protect their pole. Captain Cooke, commanding the troops, ordered his men to charge bayonets and thus clear the streets. The soldiers advanced, determined to obey their officer. They advanced until their bayonets were at the very breasts of the men opposing them. Then the rioters broke and ran. As the soldiers stood about the pole, the Captain called for an axe to cut down the offensive sign of rebellion. Then the tragedy almost ended in a comedy.

There were two sisters who were interested in the matter, and spurred their husbands on in their respective sides. One of them had married Barney Hoobley. She was law-abiding. When the demand came for an axe, it was her opportunity. She seized an axe and ran with it to the Captain. Her sister, who was more portly, and less active, saw this deed, and ran to prevent it. The two sisters met in the street, and while the axe lay on the ground beneath them, they fought with their fists until the liberty-loving Mrs. Walker was vanquished, then Mrs. Hoobley in triumph gave the axe to the Captain and the pole was cut down.

Then came the arrest of the principal offenders, who were taken to Philadelphia and tried for resisting the laws of the United States. Some were fined one hundred pounds each and ordered to be imprisoned for six months. They were taken into the presence of President Washington, whose dignity gave way so far that he shed tears as he talked to them, and then pardoned them all and sent them home to become better citizens. One of them, Robert Irwin, became the Sheriff of the county at the next election.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

AFTER THE WAR.

IT WAS the policy of William Penn, and it was continued by his heirs until they ceased to be the Proprietaries by the sale of their lands to the State, to reserve out of every township of five thousand acres a tract of five hundred acres to be called a Manor after the English custom of establishing family entailed possessions.

Among these manorial surveys was the one at Muncy, called Muncy Manor. It received the name of "Job's Discovery," because Job Chilloway had called attention to it as the finest location above Sunbury. It was the central point of the great Indian war paths leading east, west, north and south, and from time immemorial had been a favorite camping place for the various tribes that came to Shamokin. Besides this it possessed remarkable richness of soil and a beauty of surrounding scenery that was unsurpassed. The last of the manorial surveys was on the extreme end of the purchases from the Indians at that time, and included that part of the now city of Williamsport on the east side of Lycoming Creek. It was surveyed and patented to Rev. Richard Peters, August 11th, 1770, and called Ormes Kirk. November 23d, 1772, it was sold to Turbot Francis. On January 19th, 1772, it was sold to Hawkins Boone, and on July 11th, 1791, it was divided and about half of it was purchased by William Winters and the remainder by Amariah Sutton.

We cannot refrain from admiring the plans of the great founder of Pennsylvania. Had they been carried into effect just as he inaugurated them, Pennsylvania would have been a social and political paradise. But the coming of the masses whom he aimed to benefit caused changes that completely destroyed his purposes and threw the development of his colony into lines which prevented the continuance of the social aristocracy he had contemplated, and cut the fine manorial locations into small homes for busy active farmers and mechanics who were to forever sus-

tain the declaration that all men in their civil rights were free and equal.

Soon after the Revolution all the lands in the northern part of the State, then a wilderness, became an object of speculation. Immense tracts were taken up by Robert Morris, John Nicholson, George Clymer, John Reed, Judge Peters, Tench Francis, Samuel Wallis, Dr. Robert H. Rose and others.

John Nicholson was Comptroller of the State of Pennsylvania from 1782 to 1794. He became the owner of three million seven hundred thousand acres of land, besides other large possessions. To meet his various pecuniary engagements in these lands, he formed joint stock companies to which he conveyed a large portion of them. The Commonwealth had an immense claim against him for unsettled land warrants, and other things of which the vast amounts of land held in his name throughout thirty-nine counties reverted to the Commonwealth, and were taken up or purchased later by others. Conflicting claims, besides that of the State, were previously existing, and tended greatly to complicate the title to these lands. The matter was several times closed and as often re-opened by legislative enactments, special courts and new lawsuits, and recently a sweeping claim was laid by the individual heirs of Nicholson to an immense amount of land throughout the whole State, attempting to unsettle titles supposed to be quieted many years since.

This statement shows why some of the locations of the oldest settlers cannot be traced by the land grants. It also shows why the early settlements needed good surveyors and lawyers, also some of the difficulties that such men as Frederick Antes, as Justice and County Treasurer, had to meet in the arranging of the accounts and taxes of the people. It also throws a beam of light on the question of the poverty of some who were prominent in the early days, but were not fortunate enough to obtain an indisputable deed to the properties upon which they settled. They did not record the promises made to them, nor how they went on year after year in making improvements, only to be afterwards turned out, because some great land speculator had obtained possession of his land.

In the inland settlements of New York the first step was to acquire the lands from the Indians. In 1785, the Oneida and Tuscarora tribes, at a treaty held at Fort Herkimer, sold a

portion of their territory for \$11,500, being for the land lying between the Unadilla and Chenango rivers; and in 1778 the Oneidas, at a treaty held at Fort Stanwix, ceded all their lands excepting a few reservations. In 1788, the Onondagas, at a treaty held at Fort Schuyler, sold all their territory to the State of New York, excepting a reservation around their village. The price was one thousand crowns, and two hundred pounds in clothing, and an annuity forever of five hundred dollars. The same year the Oneidas ceded all the remainder of their lands for the consideration of \$2,000 in money, \$2,000 in clothing, \$1,000 in provisions, and an annuity of \$600 forever. The Cayugas, by their treaty in Albany in 1789, ceded all their lands in consideration of \$2,125, and an annuity of \$500 forever. Other similar purchases were made from the Six Nations, the Senecas and Mohawks at subsequent periods.

The principal tracts into which western New York was earliest divided were the Holland Purchase, the Pulteney Estate and the Military Tract. The military lands, set apart as bounties during the war to the amount of one hundred and eighty thousand acres, were rapidly taken up by the immigrants who flowed into the western country like a torrent, opening roads and founding villages and townships. Between 1784 and 1800 the population of the State doubled in numbers.

In 1792 Geneva did not contain more than three or four families. During that year Canandaigua had but two frame houses and a few log cabins. At the Big Spring there were only two families in 1800, and at Caledonia eighteen. These settlers purchased their land at three dollars an acre, and received as an allurement to settle the gift of a cow to each family and a supply of wheat for the first year, to be repaid in kind. At the same time the purchase money was deferred for five years without interest. When Schaeffer settled on the Genessee river, in 1788, there were not more than four or five families between him and Fort Schuyler, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. In 1792 the road from Geneva to Canandaigua was only an Indian path, on which only two families were settled.

When Messrs. Hendy, Miller and Marks began their log house settlement at Elmira, in 1789, the only road existing in the country for hundreds of miles round was what was called the Indian pathway, leading from Wilkesbarre to Canada. By

this pathway the emigrants from the south were accustomed to reach Niagara. Bath was laid out in 1792. It was not until 1795 that the country could supply its inhabitants with food. Till then their flour was brought from Northumberland and their pork from Philadelphia. When David Tripp settled at Manlius in 1790, his nearest neighbor was ten miles off, at Onondaga. At one time the only article of food which his family had for three months, with the exception of wild roots and milk, was a bushel of corn which he had brought from Herkimer, fifty-five miles, on his back.

When Judge White first began his settlement at Whitesborough, near Utica, his nearest mill was at Palatine, forty miles off, and the whole of this distance was to be traveled by an Indian path. For lack of animal food they used to salt down the breasts of wild pigeons by a barrel at a time.

A party of emigrants from New England in 1790-1791, made a road through the woods from the settlements of Whites-town out to Canandaigua. The winter was the season usually chosen for conveying families, because they were then the surest of sleighing and sledding, and passing the streams on ice bridges.

A gentleman who visited the New England settlers at Canandaigua in 1797, five years after their beginning, found them contending with numerous difficulties with light hearts and buoyant spirits; while he, as a looker-on, thought most of the mud knee deep and the mosquitoes and gnats so thick as to baffle his breathing. At that time the Indians were all about the settlers, and would make free at all times to visit the cabins of the whites, and set themselves down unasked or help themselves freely to whatever food they saw on the table. It was not always convenient so to receive them, but it was deemed most politic to overlook their freedom. In the year 1790 there were assembled at Elmira one thousand one hundred Indians to negotiate a treaty with Colonel Pickering.

The prominent men among the settlers who engaged as merchants to supply the needs of their fellows did not always have an easy time, as the following account, by General John Burrows, related in "Biographical Annals of the West Branch," shows. Meginnes says: "Disposing of his blacksmithing tools, he took his wife and five children—one of them at the breast—

and started for Muncy, where he had some relatives living. They arrived there on the 17th of April, 1794, with less than eight dollars in money, and were obliged to take up their residence in a small cabin, about sixteen feet square, with a family of six children, besides his own family, and including a bound boy." This was his beginning.

A few years later Burrows says: "I received a letter from Dr. Tate, introducing William H. Wells to me. The latter had settled in the woods at Wellsboro, in Tioga county, and applied to me to furnish him with provisions in his new settlement. He had brought a number of negroes with him from the State of Delaware. I put eight thousand eight hundred pounds of pork on two sleds and started to go with it for him. It was fine sledging, but dreadfully cold weather. In crossing the mountains, the man I had driving one of the teams froze his feet up to his ankles, and I was obliged to leave him. The next morning I put the four horses to one sled and started for Wells'. I had to cross Pine Creek six times. A man coming into the settlement from that part of the country had frozen to death the day before, and I passed his body lying in the road. The second crossing of the creek was about fifty yards wide, and when the foremost horses got to the middle of the creek the ice broke with them on it. The water was about mid-side deep, and in their efforts to get on the ice again, drew the other horses and sled, into the creek, and pulled the roller out of the sled. I got the horses ashore and tied them. I then went back to the sled and found the water running over the pork. I had to go partly under water to get an axe that was tied on the sled to cut a road through the ice to get the sled ashore. Sometimes I was in the water up to my middle, and sometimes was standing on the ice. The water, following the stroke of the axe, would fly up and as soon as it touched me would turn into ice. When I had got the road cut to the shore, I went to the sled and got a log chain. I then had to go under water and hook first to one runner and then to the other, and back the horses in through the road to pull the sled out. It was now dark and I had six miles to go, and four times to cross the creek without a roller in my sled to guide it. On descending ground it would often run out of the road, when I had difficulty in getting it into the road again. There was not a dry thread on me, and the outside of my clothes was frozen stiff. It was

twelve o'clock before I got to the mill, the first house before me, and there was neither hay nor stable when I got there. I thought my poor horses would freeze to death. Next morning, as soon as daylight appeared, I cut a stick and put a roller in my sled. I started from there at ten o'clock, and it was fifteen miles to Wells'; the snow was two feet deep, and there was scarcely a track in the road. I met Mr. Wells' negro five miles this side of his house coming to meet me on horseback about sunset. He said that there was a by-road that was a mile nearer than the one I was on, and he undertook to pilot me, but he soon lost the path and we wandered about among the trees till at length my sled pitched into a hole and overset. I then unhooked my horses from the sled and asked the negro if he thought he could pilot me to the house, but he acknowledged himself lost. I looked about and took a view of the stars, and started with my four horses, and left the pork in the woods, and fortunately got into Wells'. When I got there he had neither hay nor stable, nor any kind of feed, nor any place to confine my horses, so I was obliged to tie them to the trees. He had a place dug out in a log that I could feed two of my horses at a time. All the buildings that he had erected were two small cabins adjoining one another—one for himself and family, about sixteen feet square, that I could not stand straight in, built of logs with bark for an upper floor and split logs for the lower floor. The negro cabin was a little larger, but built of the same material. I sat by the fire till morning. It took me all the next day to get my pork to the house and settle. The next day I started for home, without feed for my horses there two nights, and the snow was up to their bellies."

It is a fact that even in the solitudes of the wilderness there were cheats and vampires who preyed on the unfortunates that came their way. The story is told of one, by name Anthonyson, a sort of half French and half Dutchman. He had a tavern a few miles below Blossburg, on the road leading to the Genessee country. He was boastful, and dilated on his success in overreaching his victims. He did not raise oats, but did charge travelers for the use of his troughs and for sleeping before his fire. Whiskey was the staple commodity at his house, serving both for meat and drink. Many of the early emigrants to the Genessee country drove their young cattle along. There was a wide track

of some fearful tornado not far from Anthony's house, in which he had contrived to cut an open space, with a narrow passage into it, making a kind of unseen pen. To this spot the cattle of his guests were very apt to stray in the night. In the morning the poor emigrants were hunting far and near for their cattle, with Anthony for their guide, but on such occasions he never happened to think of the windfall. The unsuspecting guests, after two or three days of fruitless search, would leave, paying roundly for their detention, and instructing the old scoundrel to hunt the cattle, and when found to write to a certain address, with a promise of reward for his trouble. Anthony never had occasion to write; but it was always remarked that he kept his smokehouse well supplied with what he called elk meat. When or where he caught the elks was never known. Some lone travelers, who stopped at his house, never reached their intended destination, and there was grave suspicion that he could explain the cause of it.

A faithful comparison of affairs in that early day and in our day may impress the mind more clearly with the progress that has been made by the onward march of the years, bearing the industries of the thousands who have made the West Branch Valley their home. We are fortunate in having statistics of that day to refer to, accurately given us by more than one observer. From them we quote as follows:

Values at Sunbury in 1795.

The houses here are partly built of logs and partly of framework, one or two stories high, sashed and glazed, some of them painted on the outside, all of them neat without and clean within: comfortable and commodious. The price of building a log house here of four rooms on a floor, each about twelve feet square, one story high, finished within-side with plain wainscoting, panel doors, lock and thumb latches, glazed windows, etc., complete, about one hundred pounds sterling. The log houses are as comfortable, as clean and as convenient as any brick or stone house in England. They are made by placing logs of trees transversely one upon the ends of two others, which are notched to let them in; the interstices are plastered and the outside and inside frequently cased. If the logs are placed upon stonework

about a foot from the ground, so as not to be exposed to alternate moisture and drought, they will last half a century or more very well.

The soil about Sunbury and Northumberland, which, as the river only divides them, we speak of together, is a sandy loam several feet deep near the river and apparently excellent for almost any kind of vegetation. Their produce here, as in most other parts of Pennsylvania, is corn, wheat, oats, rye, buckwheat, potatoes and some little barley. Prices, wheat per bushel, three shillings and ninepence; oats, two shillings to two shillings and threepence; rye, three shillings and to sixpence more; corn, maize, three shillings; buckwheat, one shilling and tenpence; potatoes, in the spring, two and a half shillings to three shillings ninepence; in the autumn, one shilling and twopence to one shilling tenpence a bushel. Cider, per barrel, according to the crops of apples; in 1793, it was from thirteen shillings sixpence to eighteen shillings; 1792, it was from seven and sixpence to nine shillings; beer, none; there was a brewery at Northumberland some time ago, but it has been discontinued. While it was carried on, ale sold for eighteen shillings, and porter for three pounds per barrel of thirty-one gallons. Wages in the town, two shillings and threepence a day; in the country, one shilling and tenpence to two shillings and threepence and board. The common drink, cider or whiskey and water. Beef, threepence per pound; mutton, twopence to threepence; these are bought at the butchers' or the farmers' who bring meat to town for retail; butter at Christmas, one shilling and sixpence per pound. A cord of oak firewood, three shillings and sixpence; hickory, seven shillings and sixpence. Produce of wheat, twenty or thirty bushels to the acre. The new lands and the stony rich lands near the river are too rich for wheat, and require to be reduced by corn, flax or tobacco. Otherwise, unless in a very dry summer, the grain shoots up into straw. Wheat and barley grow best on the tops of the hills, and even in stony ground. Land in the immediate vicinity of Sunbury sells from eighteen to twenty-three pounds an acre. Building lots of one-quarter or half an acre in Northumberland or Sunbury, from \$100 to \$200 each. Land a few miles distant, uncleared, twenty-two to thirty shillings an acre. Land with a log cabin, a log barn and about one-fourth improved, i. e., the trees cut down and the underwood grubbed up, about two

pounds five shillings, or five shillings more per acre.—*Winterbotham.*

Another authority, who was interested sufficiently to notice the affairs of the common people, was the Duke De La Rochefaucault Liancourt, the French traveler, who visited Northumberland in 1795, and gave his impressions as follows:

Sunbury is the chief town of the county. But the small number of public buildings which are necessary for the administration of justice constitutes its only advantage over Northumberland. The number of houses is at this time perhaps a sixth greater at Sunbury than at Northumberland, where it amounts to about one hundred. Sunbury is undoubtedly the worst built town we have hitherto seen. All the houses are of wood, chiefly log; two only are of stone. There is no market place here; the towns contain no inns, but there are four whiskey houses. We put up in that which is the best of them; and yet it rains on our beds as well as on our horses in the stable. Methinks there is hardly any place situate more favorably for its becoming a large city than Northumberland. The slow progress hitherto made by the town, I have heard imputed to the untoward character and little sense of the gentleman who possessed three-fourths of the ground on which the town stands. * * * The price of land about Northumberland is at present from twenty to twenty-four dollars per acre near the river; that situate on the northern arm is still dearer, on account of the better quality of the soil, and because a greater part of the ground is already cleared there than on the eastern arm. Further up the river land is sold from four to six dollars per acre. * * * The inhabitants of Northumberland, as well as the county at large, are Dutchmen. * * * Laborers are paid six shillings a day without victuals, or three shillings and ninepence with their entertainment. In the country, where they hire themselves by the month, they have eight dollars, for which they are obliged to work twenty-six days. Bricklayers' and carpenters' wages are, in town, one dollar per day. The price of tiles is four dollars per thousand, and very good bricks cost in Northumberland two shillings and sixpence, delivered free of expense. The price of lime is from nine to tenpence per bushel, of deal boards five shillings per hundred feet, and of other boards six shillings and sixpence. As there is no market, either in Northumberland or Sun-

bury, the inhabitants live for the greater part of the year upon salted meat, unless they keep fowls. The farmers kill at times a cow, but since an epidemic has carried off all the horses they have been obliged to replace these by oxen for the purpose of agriculture, and consequently use less beef than before. Cow beef at this time sold from fivepence to fivepence half penny per pound. The highest house rent in Northumberland is eighty dollars, and there is but one house in the whole town for which so much is paid. It is of brick, large and convenient, and was but lately sold for \$5,200. Everything is somewhat dearer at Sunbury but the difference is not a full sixth.

The same spirit that led men to defy the Proprietary Government and settle on the lands that pleased them, whether purchased of the Indians or not, was seen in the selection of their political affinities. It was true that the Federalist party was composed of the learning and wealth and aristocracy of the land, although Washington, during his first administration, was not a party man but tried to be neutral; but the claim that it would be dangerous to the security of the country to permit the people in common to have equal rights with the more favored aroused a feeling of opposition that drew the attention of every one to the attempt to enforce class distinctions. If the claim of the leaders of the Federalists was conceded there could be no hope for the development of the people coming up from the lowly homes where wealth and culture were alike unknown. Thus there was a deep under-current of antagonism against the ruling party by the masses, and this was seen the most clearly in the growing frontier towns and in the centers of the agricultural interests. To complete their alienation from the confidence of the people, the Federalists passed what were called the "Alien and Sedition Acts." These were as follows:

"1st. The Naturalization Act, by which aliens were required to reside here fourteen years instead of five before they could become citizens, while alien enemies could not become naturalized at all.

"2nd. The Alien Act, by which the President could summarily banish any alien in his discretion who was dangerous to the Republic.

"3rd. The Sedition Act, which laid pains and penalties on any hostile criticism of the Administration or Congress."

There were too many people in the country who had not recently come to immigrate to become really independent citizens for their neighbors to share national solidarity in the same way. And it was not in human nature to expect to have the great struggle of that time in America fought by thousands of men who were permitted to stay in their homes and to grow in the country. After such an experience of power it was impossible for the country to permit the Federalist party to have the reins of government. The interest in political parties is not French; we permit them because every one knows that the interests of different parties were back of it all. There were the English and the French governments, who looked into American affairs in their periods of expansion and profit, and this was a matter of the interests of the new English administration of these two small governments.

The big game in France in the country of their race was not represented by the people, but then that time France had a small game in the American situation. This was not particularly among the masses of the people who followed the spirit of Napoleon and in interest and devotion in their warship. Jefferson and the struggle in supporting the French cause and all of the following interest him. Hence the sympathies of the Anti-Federalists were with the French. The French tried to play to the fact that they were Americans and started to convince that the allegiance of the Americans to them was a great one and they must remain themselves entirely free English interests and become in their movements as the French desired. The Federalists, on the other hand, were in strong sympathy with the English. After the war the great majority of Tories still sided with the Federalists and even expressed in their and relations some of the parties who had failed to find a means to the glory of their country. More over this time that France put into the hands of the people was really so serious as the others. In the place of the French from Wyoming this time seemed to be a more important one, and it let the Federalist parties to work the interest of the Federalist party. Moreover it was understood that in the change from a Civil War to a Civil War the Government had leading purposes to Hamilton's scheme was to provide a means to take money and to place the Government in a better form which it could have a power-

ence and display like that of the kingdoms among which it was rearing its head. While the Federalists were thus showing particular friendship for England, the conduct of the English Government was becoming exasperating. America was deprived of the freedom of trade which belonged to her. England did not abandon the forts which she had obligated herself to do by treaty, and where the Indians received such support and encouragement as constituted them a menace to the interior. On the high seas she claimed possession of every English speaking sailor, whether he had been naturalized as American or not. She would not recognize the right of a subject to become denaturalized. These wrongs stirred up the animosities of those who had suffered in the war and they determined to break down the party that permitted such conditions to exist. In the war going on between France and England each country declared the other to be in a state of blockade. This ruined the shipping interests of the United States, and brought the country on the verge of war with France. During these years of European strife affecting the interests of America because of the laws the combatants made concerning commerce of the seas, the political feelings of the Americans flamed high. The Federalists wanted a war with France, and almost brought it about; the Anti-Federalists wanted a war with England, and although it was staved off for several years it came at last.

In 1807 Jefferson proposed, and Congress passed, the Embargo, which was nothing less than a complete suspension of all foreign commerce. It seemed to Jefferson to be the only thing that could be done to save the country. It ruined the carrying trade of the United States, and rendered agriculture pointless. The shipping interests of New England were paralyzed. But this good resulted, that it turned New England from fishing and shipping interests into manufacturing, and laid the foundation for the prosperity that has since been enjoyed. When the war of 1812 came, the enthusiasm of the people rose to the highest pitch. And yet the Federalists did all they could to render the war a failure. But the remarkable gallantry and success of the American Navy astonished the world. On the frontier the old hunters and Indian fighters could boast of their accuracy of aim in shooting, and when it was apparent that victory perched on the American vessels because of their superiority of aim in gunnery.

the boasting of the patriots was relentlessly hurled into the teeth of the angry Federalists. The victory of the "Constitution" over the "Guerriere," and of the "Wasp" over the "Frolic," and the "United States" over the "Macedonian," and of the "Constitution" over the "Java," stirred the people to such an extent that many went out as Privateersmen. During the war these bold and successful men captured twenty-seven hundred British merchantmen, sometimes even in sight of the coast of England, sending a fright through England that revealed itself in exorbitant rates of marine insurance, and in producing almost a famine for grain.

William Henry Harrison's victory over the English and Indians on the Thames in Canada, and the death of Tecumseh, and the naval victories on the Lakes, and the victory of Jackson at New Orleans, and the story of the Star Spangled Banner at the bombardment of Fort McHenry, were great subjects for the Republicans to boast about. Such were the themes that the men on the frontier freely discussed. They felled the mighty trees of the forests, and sowed their fields, and reaped great harvests, and changed their log cabins into stone houses, or houses built of frames covered with boards, and built mills, and increased their manufacturing, and raised great flocks of sheep, and herds of cattle, and made their own clothes, and grew strong as the arbiters of a Nation's destiny.

Until his death, in 1801, Frederick Antes was all the time in touch with the life of the Capital of the State, and an active partisan in every movement. When the war clouds gathered the second time Colonel Henry Antes was too old to shoulder his rifle and go, but he was not too old to praise the lads that went, or shout over the victories gained. He was one of the men of that day. He was fast descending to the grave when the turn of affairs brought to the front new questions, and there was a reforming of party lines on new issues, and the divisions of the past became a matter of history.

The last years of Henry Antes were spent while James Monroe was President of the United States. It was a period of State formation and the question of the extension of slavery was agitating the whole country. When Samuel Stewart, the elder, came to Nippenose Valley he brought slaves with him. When he settled at Level Corner he worked his large place with slaves.

But even at that time slavery had been practically abolished in Pennsylvania. Slavery did not please the spirit of these people who had fought so hard for liberty. Hence, slavery as a National question was a subject of conversation that drew crowds of people to the bench before the Antes Mill.

There was also the Indian question again, for the Government was purchasing the lands of the Indians west of the Ohio and assigning them to special reservations, with the expectation that if they were surrounded by white people they would leave their barbarous ways and copy the civilization about them.

At this same time there was trouble with the Seminole Indians in Florida, and General Jackson was sent to look after them. This old warrior selected a thousand riflemen from Western Tennessee and overran the Seminole country, and completely subdued them. As the news came to the West Branch of the progress of this Indian war, we can imagine the old Colonel recounting the incidents of a similar contest that had raged all about the homes now resting so peacefully and secure from all harm.

Then came a great financial crisis, when the business of the whole country was in a precarious condition, and even the Bank of the United States was only with difficulty saved from suspension and bankruptcy.

The last great measure that excited the attention of the public, that Col. Henry Antes had the pleasure of discussing and hearing his neighbors discuss before the mill bench, was the admission into the Union of Missouri as a slave State. The application of Maine was presented at the same time as a free State, but the friends of slavery opposed Maine because the foes of slavery opposed Missouri. Finally they were admitted together and then the law was passed called the "Missouri Compromise," by which slavery should be henceforth and forever excluded from all that part of the United States, Missouri excepted, lying north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. This measure was carried through by the genius and eloquence of Henry Clay. There was much about Henry Clay to delight the people who had battled for liberty on the Susquehanna. He was the champion of American industries; he urged forward internal improvements; his voice rang clearly for what the American temperament demanded; he understood what was

its congenial atmosphere. All over the country his name was on the lips of the people as their political idol. The posts were closely watched to receive every utterance that he delivered on these burning topics.

While these discussions were stirring the people, the old Revolutionary veteran sank into his last slumber in his cabin near the mill, watched over to the end by his faithful wife Sophia.

He was the last of his family. His brother Frederick had died in 1801; William in 1810; John in 1811, and Anna in 1794. Colonel Henry Antes died May 13th, 1820. Colonel Antes was buried in the cemetery on the top of the hill, near the ruins of the old stockade fort, by the side of the soldiers whose early and bloody deaths had made that spot consecrated ground. From that spot he had seen the cabins of the first settlers disappear in fire and smoke; over their ruins he had seen new homes spring up, and prosperity and plenty cluster around them. Now, his own life, once so full of dangers and disappointments, glided into prosperity and rest. With a thankful heart and expressing gratitude to God, he received the summons and went home to his Father's house, where there is no war, but the everlasting reign of righteousness and peace.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MATTERS INTERESTING TO THE ANTES DESCENDANTS.

THE descendants of the first German immigrants to Pennsylvania have a right to be proud of their ancestry. The historian justifies them because their fathers gave up their homes and their fatherland in order to remain true to their religion, and to know that they were breathing the air of freedom. Many of these families were deeply religious, and their religion was worth suffering for in the wilds of a new country. The families that we have to do with in this sketch were from the Palatinate. They were the descendants of the ancient Allimanni. In 1688, Louis the XIV undertook to usurp the Electorate for his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans. He invaded the Palatinate, pillaged the country, and murdered one hundred thousand of the inhabitants. For this crime against humanity, William of England made war against Louis. This led Louis to invade Ireland. Then Louvois, Louis's general, counselled him to destroy all the cities of the Palatinate that he could not hold. Louis accepted this counsel, and cities, towns, churches and castles were destroyed in great numbers, and the inhabitants were stripped naked, and driven into the snow clad hills and barren fields to perish. Heidelberg was sacked in 1693, and no mercy shown to the inhabitants. This policy continued until the peace of Ryswick, in 1697.

In 1701 the war of the Spanish Succession broke out and continued until the Peace of Utrecht, in 1730. During this period the Palatinate was overrun repeatedly by hostile armies and the land laid waste. In 1740, a general European war began, which lasted eight years. In 1750, war began between Prussia and Austria, which involved England and France. During this war the Palatinate was the arena of camps and battles.

William Penn's first visit to the Palatinate was in 1671. His second visit was in 1677, and the third in 1683. He was a fine German scholar, and preached to the people a gospel of peace.

He won many converts, and offered to the persecuted people an asylum in his new country. In 1702, Queen Anne succeeded King William on the throne of England. She was a zealous Protestant, and cordially invited the persecuted Palatines to make their homes in her country. The result was a large emigration of Palatines, first to England, and then to America. When they arrived in America, with hearts filled with gratitude for the refuge before them, they willingly took the oath required, which was as follows:

"We, the subscribers, natives and late inhabitants of the Palatinate upon the Rhine, and places adjacent, having transported ourselves and families into this Province of Pennsylvania, a Colony subject to the Crown of Great Britain, in hope and expectation of finding a retreat and peaceable settlement therein, do solemnly promise and engage that we will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his present Majesty, King George the Second, and his successors, Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithful to the Proprietor of this Province; and that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all his said Majesty's subjects and strictly observe and conform to the laws of England and of the Province to the utmost of our power and the best of our understanding."

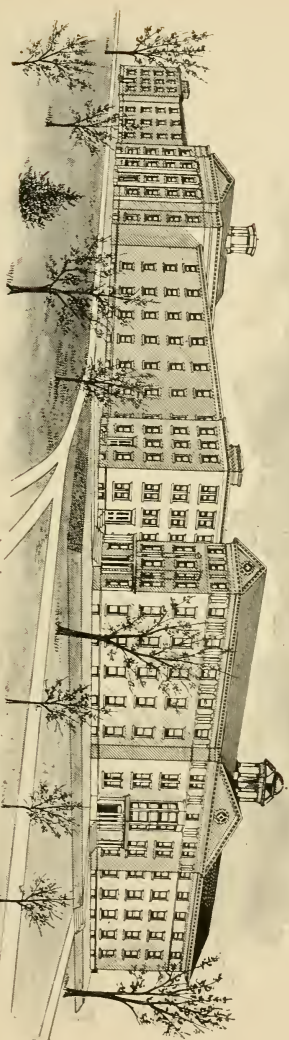
This oath was drawn up September 21st, 1727, Patrick Gordon being Lieut. Governor.

When, in 1754, the Germans of Pennsylvania were accused of plotting with the French and Indians to drive out the English, a memorial was prepared and signed by their most prominent leaders and presented to Governor Norris. Henry Antes was one of the signers of this document. One sentence in it is as follows: "How, therefore, can any man of due reason think, much less say, that this same people were any ways inclined to submit themselves again under a Romish slavery upheld by a French King." This oath and the causes of the Germans coming to America will explain why they were so loyal to the Proprietary Government in the stormy days immediately preceding the War of the Revolution.

A study of genealogies presents many interesting features. The parents of the author of this book were John Matthias McMinn (the founder of Wildwood Cemetery, Williamsport, which shall ever be an imperishable monument to his public spirit and

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY.

JOHN HOWARD HARRIS, PRESIDENT.



MAIN COLLEGE.

WEST COLLEGE (1900).

The Bucknell University, chartered Feb. 5th, 1846, has for a half century been a potent factor in the educational development of the West Branch Valley. It has a fixed and working capital of over \$725,000; owns a thirty acre campus and eleven buildings, and has four departments: College of Liberal Arts, Academy, Ladies' Institute, and School of Music.

For Catalogue, address,

WILLIAM C. GRETZINGER, Registrar,

Lewisburg, Pa

skill as a civil engineer), and Caroline Youngman. The ancestor of the McMinn family came to America early in the eighteenth century from the Scotch-Irish part of Northern Ireland. He was of the Argyleshire clan of Scotland. In 1754 he was a resident of Haverford township, Delaware county, Pa., and was known as Angus McMan. In 1756 he resided in Marple township, and in 1757 his name was recorded as Mucceleman. In 1764 he was assessed in Marple township as the owner of three horses, four cattle, and paid a rental to Jonathan Maris of six pounds. His name was recorded as Annis McMin. He died in Upper Providence, Delaware county, and was buried the Second month, ninth day, 1804. His name was then recorded Angus McLemin. This account is interesting, because it shows that names were written phonetically. The undertaker's certificate being, however, the correct way of spelling it.

The ancestors of J. M. McMinn on the maternal side owned the Gulf Mills, on the Wissahickon, where John R. McMinn, the father of John M., learned the trade of a miller, and which he pursued until he was seventy-six years of age.

The parents of Mrs. John M. McMinn were Elias P. Youngman and Amelia Antes.

May 15th, 1732, in the ship Norris, from Boston, came thirteen Palatines with their families, who took the oath at Philadelphia as soon as they arrived. One of these was Johan Ditrich Youngman. His wife was named Maria Elizabeth. August 15th, 1738, their son, Elias, was born. They called their daughter by the name Phillipina. She married Michael B. Blattner. Another son was named Thomas, who became a tanner by trade. In 1776 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Berks county. Elias Youngman learned the trade of a hatter. January 11th, 1763, he married Catharine Nagle, the daughter of Joachim Nagle. She was born in Kefferoth, Germany, in 1743. The Youngmans were prosperous and owned considerable property in Reading, Pa.

Joachim Nagle, the father of Mrs. Youngman, was born in Isenberg, near Coblenz, southern Prussia, and came to Pennsylvania on the ship "Two Brothers" on September 16th, 1751. He was a miller by trade and settled at Douglassville, where he built a mill. He died July 26th, 1795. On his tombstone there is recorded:

“ My life rests in God’s hands,
 The land Isenberg is my fatherland.
 There was I born.
 Christ is my choice.”

When Joachim Nagle came from Europe he brought with him a library chest, in which he kept his books and papers. When he died, this was taken to the house of his son Peter, where it remained until his death, in 1835. Then it was taken to the house of his daughter, Susan Boyer, where it remained until her death, in 1892. Then it was taken into the yard to be burned as rubbish. When the papers were tumbled out on the fire, a small package fell to one side. It was struck with the foot of the one who was superintending the work of destruction, and it fell apart. It was saved from the flames and found to contain two panels of very thin poplar wood, five inches by six in dimensions, and on these beautiful oil paintings of the portraits of Joachim Nagle and his wife. They had been executed in Europe.

Joachim Nagle had a number of children beside Catherine, the wife of Elias Youngman. George, the eldest, was a distinguished man in the Revolution. In 1764 he was stationed as an Ensign at one of the frontier forts on the Blue Ridge. June 24th, 1775, he was commissioned Captain of a company of expert riflemen, and was the first of that class of Continental soldiers to reach Washington near Boston. He secured a series of promotions until he became Colonel of the Tenth Pennsylvania Line. He married Rebecca Lincoln, the daughter of Mordecai Lincoln. She was the sister of the great-grandfather of President Abraham Lincoln.

Another son was Peter Nagle. He was a Captain in the Second Company of the Fourth Battalion, Pennsylvania Line. After the war he was appointed a Justice and remained in the office until his death. He was an intimate friend of General Washington, and in his home at Reading gave a public reception to Washington on his visit to Reading after the war. One of the daughters of Peter Nagle was the grandmother of William Buehler, of the United States Navy. The first wife of ex-Senator J. Donald Cameron was also a granddaughter of Peter Nagle. The children of Mrs. J. Donald Cameron are Mrs. W. H. Bradley, of Newark, N. J.; Mrs. William Clark, of the family of thread manufacturers, and Mrs. Chandler Hale, daughter-in-law of

Senator Hale. The McCormicks, of Harrisburg; William McCormick, of the Reading Herald; the Colemans, of Reading, and Frank D. Nagle, of Reading, are of this branch.

Elias Youngman was one of the early settlers in Buffalo Valley, having purchased a part of Dr. Plunket's land allotment, and also a property owner in Sunbury. He was the proprietor of what is now Mifflinberg. He had two sons and one daughter. Catherine, the daughter, married John Driesbach, the son of Martin Driesbach, the donor of the land on which Driesbach's Church stands. Thomas married Mary Shoemaker, the daughter of Henry Shoemaker, and George W. married the daughter of John Henry Pontius, one of the earliest settlers in Buffalo Valley. George W. was the father of Elias Pontius Youngman, who was the father of Caroline McMinn. The Youngmans, Driesbachs and Pontius were all very active, consecrated church people, and held prominent offices in the church.

Amelia Antes, the wife of Elias P. Youngman, was the daughter of Henry Antes and Elizabeth Shoemaker. Elizabeth Shoemaker was the sister of Mrs. Thomas Youngman, and the daughter of Henry Shoemaker, of Muncy. She was also the sister of Susan Gobin, the grandmother of General J. P. S. Gobin, the present Lieut. Governor of Pennsylvania (1900).

The Shoemaker brothers, Henry, Charles and Jacob, came to America at an early day. They came to Berks county from Germantown and bought considerable property. During the Revolutionary War they were notable men. Charles Shoemaker was a Colonial Justice, also a delegate from Berks county to the Constitutional Conventions of June 18th, 1776, and of July 15th, 1776. He served in the House of Representatives in 1791-1802, also 1812 and 1813, and in State Senate from 1813 to 1816. In 1784 he was commissioned Judge of Common Pleas. Jacob Shoemaker was also a Justice in 1777 for Windsor township. Jacob was naturalized April 12th, 1743. It may be that his brothers were naturalized at the same time. Henry Shoemaker built the large, strong stone house in Shoemakerville that is still standing and marked with the date of its erection in 1768. It was Shoemaker's Inn, and was a notable hostelry of that day. In 1777, Henry Shoemaker was one of the seven sub-Lieutenants of Berks county. During that year Berks county sent three hundred and fifty immense wagon loads of supplies to the army, which was

needing them so greatly at the time of the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and the stay at Valley Forge. Henry Shoemaker was a miller and erected a grist mill a short distance above Shoemaker'sville. After the war he removed with his family to Muncy, where he purchased the site of the Allwood Mill that had been burned by the Indians, and there he erected first a saw mill to cut the lumber and then a grist mill. From that day to this that site has been occupied by a grist mill. Henry Shoemaker was a religious man, and gave fifteen acres of land for church purposes, upon which was erected the Old Dutch Church, now known as the Emmanuel's Evangelical Lutheran Church. He had a large family and his children married into the Scudder, Robb, Kidd, Kirk, Gobin and Youngman families. Henry Shoemaker was appointed a Justice for Northumberland county in 1784.

The father of Amelia Youngman was Henry Antes, son of Colonel Henry Antes, and his father was Henry Antes, the Colonial Justice, and his father was Frederick Antes.

On page 19 of this book there is given the ancestry of Henry Antes, and on page 22 the ancestry of Christina, the mother of Colonel Henry Antes, showing the relationship to the Dewees and the Rittenhouse families.

When Henry Antes the elder died, in 1755, among the items of his last will and testament was the following: "Item. And fourthly, I give and bequeath unto my son Henry all that my plantation in Hanover township * * * * containing one hundred and fifty-six acres of land, be it more or less, the which I had of my father, Frederick Antes, by Will and Testament, with all ye buildings thereon, and twenty acres alongside of ye same out of ye aforesaid tract of land of ninety-six acres, between ye said line of ye said Henry Diringer and Joseph Bitting, with the proviso that he pays one hundred pounds to my son John when he shall be twenty-four years old, and fifty pounds to my daughter Benigna when she shall be twenty-four years old. Likewise, I give to this, my son Henry, two horses or mares, ye choice out of the rest of my stock, with their geers, and two milch cows, and one-third part of my sheep, and one-third part of all my husbandry and carpenter tools and iron harrow, and one wagon to be fixed up with ye old burned waggon tire * * to be * * under the administration of my execu-

tors until the said son Henry is twenty-one years old, and then to be delivered to him, and before that time ye said son is to serve his mother without any other further reward. But in case if a sum of money should be lawfully demanded on the said one hundred and fifty-six acres I had from my father above said for fault of the deede within fifteen years, such said sum of money shall be equally paid between all my children, but if after fifteen years then the said Henry shall lose it alone."

Adolph Meyer, of Scipack, and Daniel Bishope, of Bethlehem, were appointed guardians of the children under age. This was signed July 20th, 1754.

The daughter, Benigna, died at Bethlehem when twelve years of age. John joined the Moravians in 1752, and in 1769 was sent as a missionary to Egypt. He was recalled from Egypt to London in 1781, and died in Bristol, England, December 11th, 1811.

The following is a copy of the will of Frederick Antes, referred to in the will of Henry Antes. It is an interesting document, showing the nature of the possessions of a prosperous man of that time. The possession of the Old German Bible reveals the fact that as far back as we can trace, this family was devotedly religious:

"The fifteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord 1746, I, Frederick Antes, of New Hanover township, in the county of Philadelphia, yeoman, being aged and infirm in Body but thro the mercy and goodness of God of sound and well disposing mind and memory, Do make this, my Last Will and Testament, of and concerning my Wordly Estate, in mannner following: That is to say, first, it is my mind and desire that my Just Debts and Funeral Expenses shall be duly paid, and I do nominate and appoint my dear wife, Elizabeth Catharine, and my son, Henry, to be the Executors of this my Last Will and Testament. And I do give and devise unto my said son Henry all that my Mesuage, Plantation, Tract of land, situate in the said Township, together with the appurtenances, to hold to my said son Henry Antes, his heirs and assigns forever. Provided always, and my further mind is, that my said wife shall have eight bushels of wheat and seven bushels of rye delivered to her use yearly, and every year, at her request, and to have one cow and two sheep kept yearly on the said plantation for her use, and privilege to

Raise a Calf to her use till it be one year old. My said wife is only to help with her own labor to make hay for the keeping of the said stock. My said wife shall have one-quarter of an acre of land sowed with flax on the said plantation to be to her use yearly, and every year; and my said wife shall have one-third part of the fruit of the orchard, and one-fourth part of the ground in the garden to be to her use yearly, and every year; and my said wife shall have my lodging room to dwell in, and her necessary use of the fire-place, during all the term of her natural life, if she so long continue Sole and unmarried. To which end I would have the plantation let to farm from year to year, or, otherwise, to the best advantage in the discretion of my said son Henry, or his heirs. But if my said wife shall marry again, then within six months after such her future marriage, I do give unto her, my said wife, the sum of ten pounds in lieu of her dower, or any other part of my estate. And I do give and bequeath unto my daughter, Anna Elizabeth, the sum of fifty pounds, to be paid to her in twelve months next after my decease. As for and concerning all the cattle and live stock, with the corn that shall be found upon the said plantation at the time of my decease, whether in field or barn, I give the one full moyety thereof unto my said wife, Elizabeth Catharine, and the other moyety I give unto my said son Henry. Moreover, I give unto my said wife the bed whereon we lie, with the furniture belonging to it: my round Table, my Brandy Still, my Great Iron Kettle, my Great German Bible and Great Hanging Press. And I give to my said son Henry all my Implements of Husbandry whatsoever, and my Great Copper Kettle, and as for and concerning all the Rest of my Household Goods, and all other my Goods, Chattels, Effects and Estate whatsoever I give and bequeath the one full moyety thereof unto my said wife, Elizabeth Catharine, and the other moyety thereof unto my said son, Henry Antes, and I do declare this to be my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all others. In Witness whereof, I, the said Frederick Antes, have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the day and year first within mentioned. Frederick Antes. [SEAL.] Signed, Sealed, Published and Declared by the above and within named Frederick Antes, for and his Last Will and Testament, in the presence of us, who, at his request and in his presence, have set our names as witnesses hereunto. Jost Bitting. Jacob Baumann.

"Philadelphia, November 26th, 1746. There personally appeared Jost Bitting and Jacob Baumann, the witnesses to the foregoing Will; and the said Jacob Baumann, on his solemn affirmation according to law, and the said Jost Bitting, on his oath respectively, did declare they saw and heard Frederick Antes, the Testator therein named, Sign, Seal and Publish and Declare the same Will for and as his Last Will and Testament, and that at the doing thereof he was of sound mind, memory and understanding, to the best of their knowledge. Coram. William Plumstead, R. General."

A few months after his father's death, and while still under age, Henry Antes, Jr., the inheritor of this beautiful property, married Anna Maria Paul, or, as she styled herself, Mary Paulin, according to the German practice of adding the feminine termination to the name.

On April 23rd, 1752, Jonathan Paul, the miller, died, leaving an estate valued at eight hundred and sixty-six pounds seventeen shillings and ten and one-fourth pence. There were three children, Jonathan, who was of age; Sarah and Mary, who were under age. John Johnson and John Jones were appointed their guardians. Before they became of age their mother married J. Woolen. Sarah died, and Mary was sent to school. The estate was charged sixty-five pounds two shillings for her schooling. When she became of age, there was a dispute about the statement of the administrators, and William Dewees, Thomas Yorke and Thomas Livezey were appointed by the Court to adjust the matter. They awarded Mary Paul the sum of one hundred and eight pounds seven shillings and five one-half pence. Henry Antes and Mary Paul lived together on his farm in New Hanover township for ten years when she died, leaving three children; the youngest died soon after the mother, and the two sons, Henry and Philip, survived and lived to old age.

In Whitmarsh township, and that part of Germantown contiguous to it, there were several prominent families whose lands not only joined, but whose business was of the same kind, and thus they were particularly intimate. Beginning at a point near the present Flourtown, we find the properties of Edge, Farmer, Robeson, Dewees, Williams, Paul, etc.

In 1748 James Paul and Jacob Edge purchased a property from Edward and Joseph Burk. In 1762 Sarah, Robert and

John, the children of James Paul, conveyed their share of this property to Edge.

In 1747 Jonathan Robeson, Esquire, of Whitemarsh, and Peter Robeson, his son, of Philadelphia county, inn-holder, and Joseph Farmer, of Whitemarsh, yeoman, the executors of the estate of Edward Farmer, of Whitemarsh, gentleman, sold to William Dewees, who had married Rachel, the daughter of Edward Farmer, one hundred and ninety-eight and a fraction acres of land. In 1764 William Dewees sold out of this portion the grist mill and seventeen acres of land to Joseph and Richard Mather. At this time William Dewees was an inn-holder in Germantown and an Esquire. In 1769 the heirs of Mathers sold the property to Jonathan Robeson. In 1772 Robeson purchased other property of Michael Crowl, amounting to two hundred and two and a fraction acres. In 1789 Peter Robeson, the son of Jonathan, sold this property to Jacob Paul, miller, of Germantown, for one thousand six hundred and fifty pounds in gold and silver. In 1801 Paul sold it to Jesse Jarret for two thousand six hundred pounds in gold and silver. In 1812 the property was sold to Nicholas Klein, and it afterward became the property of Silas and John Cleaver. It belongs to the Cleaver family to-day.

The record of the families of that time show quite clearly the lines of social affiliations, and the general selections within certain limits of relationship reveal the attention to social equality so carefully preserved. To exhibit this let us look at the relations of those in greatest prominence in that section.

On the 20th day of August, 1699, Thomas Potts and Martha Courlin were married in the Abington Friends' Meeting. Peter Keurlis, the bride's father, was one of the twelve original settlers of Germantown. In 1682 Thomas Rutter came to America in the ship "Amity," which accompanied the "Welcome," in which William Penn came to Pennsylvania. In 1685 Rutter married Rebecca Staples. In 1705, when Pastorius resigned the head magistracy of Germantown, Thomas Rutter succeeded him in office. In 1717 Rutter, who was a smith, removed to the district forty miles up the Schuylkill, to the Manatawny tract, where a good quality of iron had been discovered, to open and work iron mines. The discovery of this iron aroused great excitement in England, and in 1719 a bill was introduced in

Parliament to prevent the erection of rolling and slitting mills in America. At the time the bill did not pass, but it was adopted in 1750, and served to widen the breach between the colonies and the mother country. Rutter's tract included all that territory known to-day as Colebrookdale, Amity, Douglassville and Boyerstown. On this Rutter and his sons-in-law, Samuel Savage and Samuel Nutt, erected furnaces and forges. Afterward, Samuel Nutt brought skilled workmen from Germany, and at his forges at French Creek made the first steel that was made in America. Thomas Rutter died in 1729. After his death his heirs, in conjunction with Thomas Potts, Sr., became owners of a large tract of mineral lands, furnaces and forges. Thomas Potts, Jr., married Rebecca, a granddaughter of Thomas Rutter. From that time, by intermarriages and purchases from one another, all this property was retained in the possession of this family. One of their furnaces was that at Warwick, in Chester county. It was built in 1736 as a charcoal blast furnace. In 1776 it was engaged in casting cannon for the State. Here the first four-pounders cast in America were made, and Colonel Frederick Antes was appointed by the State Council to test these cannon and decide upon their acceptance. The furnace was blown by long wooden bellows, propelled by water-wheels. Five miles from Pottstown was the forge known as Pine Forge. It was the earliest forge erected in Pennsylvania. William Dewees, the brother-in-law of Henry Antes, Sr., married Rachel Farmer. The second wife of Thomas Potts was Grace Farmer. The wife of William Dewees, Jr., was Sarah Potts, the daughter of Thomas Potts. Martha, the sister of Sarah Potts, married Thomas Yorke. Thomas Potts, the brother of Sarah, married Magdalen Robeson. John Potts, a brother, was the founder of Pottstown, which he laid out in 1752. John Potts and Thomas Yorke were Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in 1761. The will of John Potts, on June 16th, 1768, was witnessed by William Dewees, Thomas Dewees and David Potts, all Justices, before Benjamin Chew, the Register General. Henry Pawling was one of the appraisers. Thomas Potts, son of John, was one of the original members of the American Philosophical Society organized by Franklin. During the Revolution he lived in Pottstown, and his house was the temporary home of Washington. Here Washington and his Generals framed counsels

and most probably decided to winter at Valley Forge. Thomas Potts was an ardent patriot, a Colonel in the American Army and a member of the Council to frame the government for the State. There were eight members of this convention from each county. Frederick Antes was also a member from Philadelphia county. John, the brother of Thomas, was a Tory, and his property was confiscated by the Government. David, another brother, was a merchant in Philadelphia, and owned a part of the property at Valley Forge. Another brother was Jonathan, who received his medical education in Edinboro, and was prominent as a Surgeon in the American Army. While the army was encamped at Valley Forge he was made Director General of the Hospitals, of which he had eleven under his care. Another brother was Isaac. He was a Quaker preacher, and did not believe in war. He also owned a part of Valley Forge. The following incident shows how he was converted to patriotism: "During the Revolutionary War he remained at Valley Forge, no doubt superintending the grinding of the grain which Washington ordered the neighboring farmers to bring to his suffering army. These mills were large and in good repute for the quality as well as the quantity of the flour manufactured. One day, as Isaac traversed the dark brown forest, he heard at a distance before him a voice, which as he advanced became more fervid and interested. Approaching with slowness and circumspection, whom should he behold in a dark bower, apparently formed for the purpose, but the Commander in Chief of the United Colonies on his knees in the act of devotion to the Ruler of the universe. At the moment when Friend Potts, concealed by the trees, came up Washington was interceding for his beloved country. With tones of gratitude that labored for adequate expression, he adored that exuberant goodness which from the depth of obscurity had exalted him to the head of a great nation, and that nation fighting at fearful odds for all the world holds dear. He utterly disclaimed all ability of his own for this arduous conflict; he wept at the thought of that irretrievable ruin which his mistakes might bring on his country, and with the patriot's pathos, spreading the interests of unborn millions before the eye of eternal mercy, he implored the aid of that arm which guides the starry host. Soon as the General had finished his devotions and had retired, Friend Potts returned to his house and threw himself

into a chair by the side of his wife. 'Heh! Isaac,' said she, with tenderness, 'thee seems agitated; what's the matter?' 'Indeed, my dear,' quoth he, 'if I appear agitated 'tis no more than what I am. I have seen this day what I shall never forget. Till now I have thought that a Christian and a soldier were characters incompatible; but if George Washington be not a man of God, I am mistaken, and still more shall I be disappointed if God do not through him perform some great thing for his country.' " This account is by Ruth Anna, the granddaughter of Isaac Potts, who in 1805 married Joseph M. Paul.

The wife of Isaac Potts was Martha Bolten; her sister Mary married Jacob Paul. Hanna, the sister of Isaac Potts, married Thomas Dewees. William Dewees, the husband of Sarah, was Sheriff of Philadelphia county and a Colonel of the Pennsylvania militia. Mrs. T. P. James says: "I find the following letter from the Board of War to President Wharton, August 30th, 1777: 'Sir: There is a large quantity of flour spoiling for want of baking. It lies at Valley Forge. I am directed to request of you that you with the Council will be pleased to order furloughs to be given to six bakers out of the Militia for the purpose of baking the flour into hard biscuit. Col. Dewees will receive your order and endeavor to find out the bakers. Richard Peters, Sec.' It was doubtless at this time—more than three months previous to the army going into winter quarters at Valley Forge—that Colonel Dewees built the large ovens in the cellar of his cousin's house. David Potts had probably removed from his summer home to the city for security, and the house was taken at that time for a bakery and used as such for the greater part of a year. In 1773 Joseph Potts, of Philadelphia, had conveyed to William Dewees an undivided moiety of Mount Joy Forge; and as early as 1771 he appears to have resided at the mansion house belonging to these iron works and to have carried them on in conjunction with David Potts, who, for nearly half a century, had sold in Philadelphia the bar iron made there. When Washington intrenched the army at Valley Forge, Colonel Dewees' family were residing there, and many incidents have come to my notice of the intercourse of this family with the General and his wife during the terrible winter of 1777."

When the British army, after the battle of Brandywine, was marching through that section, a detachment came to Valley

Forge and destroyed all they could. When they came to the Dewees mansion house, Mrs. Dewees had gathered her valuables into one of the rooms and told the enemy that they could enter it only over her dead body. This William Dewees was uncle to Colonel Henry Antes.

Another brother to Sarah Potts Dewees was James Potts, who in 1776 was appointed a Major by Congress, and outranked all other Majors in the army. He was in Cadwallader's Battalion. From the high social position of this troop it was called the "Silk Stocking Company." He was also a member of the Provincial Conference of June 15th, 1776. James Potts, the son of David Potts, married Anne, the daughter of William Dewees, in 1811. One of the children of Thomas Dewees and Hanna Potts was William Potts Dewees. Dr. Hugh L. Hodge wrote of him as follows: "Dr. William P. Dewees was one of the most distinguished individuals that have ever graced the annals of our profession in this country. His relative, Dr. Rush, threw his commanding influence in his favor and he soon became known. He early devoted his attention to a branch of the profession which had not at that time been reduced to the state of a science, viz., obstetrics, and was the first who attempted to give a full course of lectures upon the subject in America. He wrote and published several books upon it, which became at once authority both here and in Europe. In 1825 he was chosen professor in the University of Pennsylvania, and filled his chair with great satisfaction to his pupils. He constantly received tokens of the estimation in which his services were held in this country and in Europe, and was made member of many scientific societies in both hemispheres. He printed a work upon the diseases of women and children, which justly entitled him to a high rank as a physician." Of his five sons four became physicians, and one of his daughters married a physician.

Joseph M. Paul, who married Ruth Anna Potts, was the son of John and Mary Paul; her brother, Edward Burrows Potts, married Phoebe Williams, of Whitemarsh.

Thus we see how these few families intermarried and maintained their position in the political, social and business world.

Linn says: "The execution of the laws devolved upon the President and the Supreme Executive Council. This consisted of twelve persons, one from the city of Philadelphia and one

from each of the eleven counties into which the province was then divided. They were, however, chosen by districts, Bedford, Northumberland and Westmoreland constituting one district, the embryo of the present Senatorial representation. Every member of the Council was a Justice of the Peace for the whole State. The President and the Vice President of the State were chosen of members of the Council in joint convention of the Assembly and the Council. The President had the power of appointing and commissioning judges and of sitting as judges in impeachment cases, and could grant pardon, &c. The judges of the Supreme Court held office seven years. Two or more persons were chosen in each township as Justices and the Council commissioned one or more of them for seven years. These Justices held the several courts. Two persons were to be voted for for Sheriff, one of whom was commissioned by the Council. The County Commissioners and Assessors of Taxes were to be elected by the people, thus embodying in the Constitution the principles for which the Revolution was inaugurated, the right of the people to tax themselves. The Convention held September 3d created a new Council of Safety, and the following Justices were appointed: Samuel Hunter, William Maclay, Robert Moodie, Henry Antes, John Lowden, Benjamin Weiser and John Simpson.

These names refer to the appointments in Northumberland county; of course there were similar arrangements in the other counties of the State.

When the war had actually come to the neighborhood of Philadelphia, and the patriotism of every man was being tested, we find that William Antes is given a position of greatest importance to the integrity of the army, that was to be the main support of Washington in his work of driving away the foe.

Frederick Antes was Colonel of the militia from that part of Philadelphia county where Washington encamped immediately after the disastrous battle of Brandywine. It is at once apparent that he must have frequently been brought into consultation with his chief on matters pertaining to roadways, and forage, and supplies, and raids, and other matters of purely local interests that would never appear on the records or on the pages of history. No man in that country would be better acquainted with the roads than Antes, and his position as Colonel over the men

who lived, and all their lives had lived there, would make it imperative that he should be consulted on these matters.

On the 11th of September, Antes had his regiment at Swedes' Ford, near Norristown. On the 3rd of October the battle of Germantown was fought, and Washington retired from the vicinity of Antes' home, near the Skippack, with his army to Whitemarsh. On the 11th of December Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

On October 21st, 1777, at the very time the British were massing their forces against the forts along the Delaware, and completing the work of driving out of the vicinity of Philadelphia the Americans, and the Tories and English sympathizers in the city and county of Philadelphia were rejoicing in the troubles that had come upon the army of their fellow Americans, William Antes received and accepted the appointment of Commissioner, with four other men of similar fearless loyalty, to seize the personal effects of traitors and confiscate them to the cause of American freedom. He was also appointed as one of a board of twelve to collect clothing for the soldiers of the army, and so great was the confidence placed in him that twice he was appointed agent for the Government in regard to forfeited estates in the county of Philadelphia. Thus it was apparent that he was placed in a position, not only of greatest benefit to the American army in its direst need, but also where he would receive the fiercest maledictions of the British sympathizers, who now had all the sway in the social and business life of the city. On the 21st of July, 1778, William Antes was appointed sub-Lieutenant of Philadelphia county.

Smith Futhey, in his history of Chester county, says: "In the Revolutionary War the necessity of organizing and disciplining the forces of the county who were to assist in conquering independence and freedom for the continent led to the creation, by the Supreme Executive Council, of the responsible post of County Lieutenant. This office, whose name and duties were analogous to those of the King's lieutenants in the counties of the mother country, gave him, with the rank of Colonel, the charge of raising, arming and provisioning the military contingent of his district, and in every way preparing the troops to take the field. They remained under his command till they were called into active service.

"The militia appears to have been divided into eight classes. When a class was called out, many belonging to it could not or would not go. The deficiency was made up by the employment of substitutes, either taken from the other classes or from those not subject by law to the performance of military duty. These substitutes were procured by a bounty which was paid by the State, to be remunerated by the fines imposed on delinquents, and varied from fifteen to fifty pounds for two months' service. In some regiments the number of substitutes nearly equalled the number of those regularly drafted."

In the Colonial Records of the State of Pennsylvania there are recorded the accounts of William Antes as sub-Lieutenant of Philadelphia county. The accounts were audited and approved as correct. They amounted to fourteen thousand four hundred and fifty pounds and nine shillings. His salary was four hundred and seventy-seven pounds twelve shillings, and clerk hire one hundred and fifty pounds. The responsibilities of his position led William Antes into actions that were bitterly resented by the Tories, and it was no longer safe for him to dwell among them. The return of the Americans to power in Philadelphia did not subdue the Tory sentiment. There were those who destested the victors as heartily as ever. Those who, because of the lack of loyalty, had lost their estates would seek the means to be revenged on the officers of the law. Hence, both of the Antes*brothers, when their services were no longer required in arming, provisioning and commanding troops—for the seat of war was now transferred from Philadelphia to the South—withdrew to the frontier, where they were in the midst of congenial spirits, and could renew their activity in public affairs. They settled in Northumberland, a sort of paradise to cultured men, and here their value as public servants was recognized and positions of trust given to them.

In 1781 William Antes, James Estey and Daniel Montgomery were appointed Commissioners of Northumberland county. The following paper indicates the complicated nature of their duties:

Commissioners of Northumberland County to President Reed,
of the Supreme Executive Council, October 26, 1781:

"Sir: Since the late election this county has almost a new

Board of Commissioners. The tax business we have in hand, and are determined to proceed with despatch as far as our circumstances and abilities will possibly admit. Many of the county books and papers are yet in Paxton (being removed thither on the break of Wyoming). We find by such as are in our hands that no credit hath been given in the books to any person since this was a county. But it appears by several settlements with sundry collectors since the year 1777 that divers sums remained in the hands of the Treasurer and that the inhabitants generally paid their taxes, and the non-residents none, or but very little. We beg to be informed with respect to the following particulars:

(The answers seem to have been noted for reference.)

"1. Is all the taxes laid before the Revolution and yet remain due to be collected in specie? (Yes.)

"2. Is such taxes as have been laid and not exonerated since the Revolution to be collected agreeable to the table of depreciation and rates of exchange fixed by Assembly? (Yes.)

"3. What kind of money may be taken, is it State money or hard, or both? (To be taken in State money except the taxes laid in 1781, the last to be taken agreeable to directions of the act of Assembly.)

"4. How is delinquent treasurers to be dealt with, or to whom is such accountable? (To the Assembly.)

"Your Excellency will please to indulge us in these particulars with proper directions, as we are so remote from the seat of Government and the practice of other Commissioners in similar cases; and likewise not being furnished with all the tax laws, as well as other acts of Assembly, makes advice necessary.

"We are, Sir, your Most Obedient and Humble Servants, William Antes, James Estey, Daniel Montgomery, Commissioners."

During this period of public service William Antes pursued the business of gunsmith, which was an exceedingly profitable business on the frontier. In the proceedings of the State Council, August 1st, 1785, there is this entry: "An order was drawn on Treasurer for William Antes, for one pound specie, for cleaning and repairing two rifle guns damaged on their way from Philadelphia to Sunbury, being a present from the Commonwealth to two Indian chiefs, according to treaty of October, 1784. Signed, John Dickinson, President."

In the records of March 18th, 1783, under the report of the Comptroller General, there is the account of the services of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Antes and others for services on a scout in pursuit of Indians, for which they were allowed the pay and rations allowed the militia by the act of December 22nd, 1781.

The influence of these brothers in the county can be inferred when we see at the same time Frederick, the eldest, was Presiding Judge of the Courts, and also sitting as a Judge in each of the courts; William was Commissioner, and Henry was Sheriff. Henry continued in public office for ten years. Frederick was in office for more than twenty years, and died while in the public service. During the times of reconstruction, when the finances of the State were in the most complicated condition ever known, he was County Treasurer, his term beginning October 20th, 1783. He possessed the confidence of his fellow citizens to such an extent that they returned him to that position for several successive terms. He held this position during the exasperating period of the troubles in Wyoming, and in this official relationship was brought into contact with them on the most important points of law.

In 1782 William Moore was President of the State, James Potter, Vice President, and Henry Antes, Presiding Judge in Northumberland county.

At the general election in October, Henry Antes, though not receiving the highest number of votes, was commissioned Sheriff.

In 1783, October 20th, Frederick Antes was appointed County Treasurer. Henry Antes received four hundred and forty-seven votes for Sheriff. Frederick Antes was elected to the Assembly, but was thrown out because the vote of the people of Wyoming was cast for him. This caused the production of the protest given on page 422.

In June, 1783, Frederick Antes handed in his accounts as Commissioner of Purchases. In the meeting that rejected the election of Frederick Antes, Henry Antes, as the Sheriff, presented the election returns to the Assembly and was examined under oath concerning the validity of the returns.

Supreme Executive Council proceedings, May 22d, 1784:

A letter was read from John Buyers, Christian Gettig, Frederick Antes and Robert Martin, Justices of the Peace in North-

umberland county, informing Council of disturbances by soldiery at Wyoming, and praying directions from Council. They were instructed to exercise the authority vested in them by law for preserving the peace and committing and punishing those who break the same.

May 24th, the resignation of Alexander Patterson, as Justice of the Peace of Common Pleas and of Orphans' Court, was accepted.

In 1784 Frederick Antes was elected to the Assembly, and Henry Antes as Sheriff.

In 1785 Frederick Antes was elected to the Assembly.

In 1789 Frederick Antes was elected Treasurer. On October 19th, 1789, was appointed a delegate to the convention at Paxton to take measures for the improvement of the Susquehanna river as a water way.

April 6th, 1790, Frederick Antes, Reading Howell and William Dean were appointed Commissioners to explore the county near the head-waters of the Delaware river and the East Branch of the Susquehanna and Lehigh and Schuylkill, and to survey and examine them. Thomas Mifflin was President of Council.

In the month of April, 1775, Elizabeth Antes was married to John Schuler, in the German Reformed Church of Philadelphia. In August, of the same year, and at the same place, Frederick Antes married Catharine Schuler.

Catharine, the daughter of Frederick Antes, married Simon Snyder, who, during the war of 1812, was Governor of Pennsylvania.

In September, 1801, Frederick Antes went to Lancaster to await the coming of his nephew, Benjamin H. Latrobe, that they might proceed with the work of surveying the Susquehanna for the purpose of increasing its value for navigation, when he was suddenly taken down with sickness, and before his nephew could reach him, died. Almost his last words were in reference to Lord Howe's edict against him. He said, "Lord Howe would not now value me at two hundred pounds sterling, dead or alive!"

Among the descendants of Frederick Antes are the families of Dering, Huber, Winther, Hobart, Crane, Riley, Snyder, etc.

When, by the treaties with the Indians, the Genesee country, in New York State, was opened to settlers, William Antes, Col-

onel Henry Antes, John Pontius, Henry Shoemaker, Jr., and many others from the neighborhood of Sunbury hastened there to take up the fertile tracts of land. Colonel Henry Antes returned to his home at Antes' Fort, and gave power of attorney to his brother William to secure the land he had secured by right of actual and early improvements. The time of this settlement was in 1795; the claim was urged in 1798.

William Antes did not return. He remained on his new possessions until he died, in 1810. His body lies in the cemetery at Canandaigua. It is marked with a simple inscription, giving his name and age and date of his death.

Among his descendants are several families bearing the name Antes, Chase, Reid, Little, Hayes, Byron, Coleman, Gardner, etc.

Of the American descendants of Anna Margaretta Antes, the eldest sister of Colonel Henry Antes, are the Latrobes, of Baltimore; Cogswell, Loring, McKim, Onderdonk, Vinton, Weston, etc.

The descendants of his sister Elizabeth are named Dukehart, Sultzer, Blair, Wickelhausen, McCrea, Branson, Pomp, Kinsey, Stoneback, Green, Haas, Roberts, Berg, Lawall, Maxwell, etc.

The descendants of Colonel Henry Antes are several families of the name Antes, and Clarke, Bennett, Daniel, Bressett, Metzgar, Sheadle, Reichenbach, Canfield, Jordan, Mehaffey, Youngman, MacMinn, Grier, Mackey, Norris, Archer, Bushnell, Roberts, Ruhl, Foster, McMicken, Huber, Bardo, Aughenbaugh, Hamilton, Marcus, Schaub, Hollohan, McCormick, Campbell, Zimmerman, Probst, Holter, Constance, Van Scoy, Curtin, Walker, Williams, Stone, Irvin, Fulton, Goodfellow, Ruch, Beck, Hipple, Patton, Barnhart, Sellers, Kimport, Davis, Ross, Johnson, Neff, Dopp, Otis, Harsburger, Coburg, Dougherty, Kennedy, Messick, Ellsworth, Latimer, Caswell, Messimer, Leather, and others.

John Antes left no children, but as an enduring monument to his character and fame there remains a quarto volume of Egypt, which he wrote after several years of residence there, and which attracted the attention of the learned at the time it appeared, also a book called "Confidence in God, illustrated in the life of John Antes, a Missionary in Egypt. Extracted from a

Narrative written by himself." This book, reproduced by Henry S. Dotterer, in the "Perkiomen Region," is a wonderful presentation of the strength of character one can attain by being thoroughly consecrated to God.

The career of Philip Antes, the second son of Colonel Henry Antes, displays that same firmness of religious devotion that was the gift of their parentage. In 1780 he married Susanna Williams, daughter of Charles Williams, of Dauphin county, Pa., and while his father was engaged in the duties incumbent on him as Sheriff, came home and took charge of the mill. In 1787, upon his father's return, he lashed two canoes together and placed upon them his household goods, and in this manner removed from the mill at Antes' Creek up the West Branch to Bald Eagle Creek, and up this creek until he came to the place now known as Curtin's Iron Works. As soon as his cabin was erected, he began a Methodist class meeting. Then he built a grist mill, and in it preaching was held regularly until the year 1806, when a chapel was erected. In 1829 he gave the ground for and largely aided in building the first Methodist Episcopal Church in Clearfield county. His home was always open to clergymen, and his entire life was filled with true spiritual consecration. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, married Moses Boggs, who for seventeen years was the Associate Judge of Center county. His daughter Susan married John Patton, whose father was a member of General Washington's Body Guard, and a Colonel of the Sixteenth Additional Continental Regiment. He had charge of the defences of the city of Philadelphia, and at the darkest hour of the struggle was one of the patriotic merchants of Philadelphia who, with Robert Morris and others, gave their personal bonds to the amount of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds to provision the army. He declined to receive any pay for his services. When he died, in 1804, he was a Major General of a division of the State Militia. The husband of Susan Antes was a Lieutenant in the American Navy, where he served for eight years, a part of the time under Commodore Stephen Decatur. Their son, John Patton, twice represented the Clearfield district in Congress, and was universally honored as one of the most upright, religious and successful men in the State. One of his sons, John Patton, Jr., is a lawyer in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and an ex-Senator of the United States. Other sons became their father's succes-

sors in business in Curwinsville, and display the energy that has come down the line of their ancestry.

There was great pleasure in the Antes household, at Northumberland, when the following letter was received. The writer was Benjamin Henry Latrobe, the son of Anna Margaretta Antes, who had gone from America to London with Count Zinzendorf, and after receiving her education had become the wife of Rev. Benjamin Latrobe. Benjamin Henry was the second son, and was born in Yorkshire, May 1st, 1767. He was educated at the University of Leipsic; served in the Prussian army in 1785; returned to England; studied architecture; became surveyor of public offices in London in 1788; came to the United States in 1796; built the Bank of Pennsylvania, the Schuylkill Waterworks, the Cathedral and Exchange at Baltimore, completed the Capitol of the United States, and rebuilt it after its destruction in 1815; designed the opening ears of corn decorating the Capitol pillars, and thus left his mark as an architect of imperishable renown:

“Philadelphia, April 8, 1798.

“My Dear Uncle:

“Since my arrival in America, two years ago, it has been my particular wish to see you. Expecting to arrive in winter, I took my passage in a ship bound for Virginia, and intended to travel through the more southerly States previous to my settling in Pennsylvania. A great variety of public business, which was offered me, rendered it impossible to accomplish my desire of settling near you. I came to Philadelphia about a fortnight ago, partly upon business entrusted to me by the Executive of Virginia, partly with the intention of spending a week with you. I have, however, found it out of my power to take a journey to so great a distance without staying so long away from my engagements in Virginia as to run the risk of their suffering injury in the meantime. I must, therefore, postpone the pleasure of seeing you till another opportunity, which I shall endeavor to procure as early as possible. I have been extremely fortunate in meeting my cousin, Mr. Snyder, here; he will tell you how much I am interested in becoming acquainted with a branch of my family, the only one now remaining. My father, when he died in 1787, had not a single relation on his side but his children. I have two brothers, one elder and one younger than my-

self. The elder is married, and has two or three children in England; the younger is a physician in Russia. I have also two sisters, the elder of whom is married to a Mr. Foster, and has four children; whether the younger is married I cannot tell; it was expected she would be when I last heard from her. I myself was married seven years ago, but had the misfortune to lose my wife before we had lived three years together. Her loss so afflicted my mother that she survived her not quite a month. I have two children, a boy and a girl. The latter is the eldest and is now six years old. They are in England with my sister. I have written to you at least three letters, but I fear you never received them. I entrusted them to private hands, not knowing how to direct to you by post, and suppose my friends either neglected or found themselves unable to gain intelligence of your abode. I hope to correspond in future with you, whenever it may be convenient to you. I shall be happy to receive a line from you, but shall think it my duty to write to you as frequently as possible.

"Having received a literary education, I turned my thoughts early to the study of architecture and to receive instruction necessary to an engineer, and having improved myself by having traveled through a great part of Europe, I commenced business in England a little before my marriage, and was engaged in many public and private works, having been architect to the Police of Middlesex and Westminster, and engineer to three or four canals and harbors. The loss of my wife made business irksome to me, and I therefore resolved to leave a country where everything reminded me how happy I had been and how miserable I was. On my arrival in Virginia, however, I so far recovered my spirits and health as to have resolved to recommence my professional pursuits. I am at present engaged for twelve months by the State of Virginia, but though I have purchased land in that State I have bought a lot in the city of Richmond. I have seriously thought of settling in Pennsylvania. I will take the liberty of consulting you upon the subject whenever it becomes a more immediate object to me. In the meantime I hope you will believe that the affection which my mother taught me to bear to you by her frequent and affectionate mention of you remains undiminished and can only be increased by a personal acquaintance of your character. I beg you to give my best love

to my aunt and my cousins and all my relations when you see them, and to believe me, very truly,

“Your affectionate nephew, Benjamin Henry Latrobe.”

The following communication will be interesting as a view of the branch of the family in Europe:

DAYS DEVOTED TO RESEARCH ABROAD.

BY HENRY S. DOTTERER.

Pennsylvania Family History Found at Neuchatel.

Neuchatel is charmingly situated on the western side of the lake of the same name in Western Switzerland. The business houses, the market, the public offices, and some residences are located on the margin of the lake; beyond these a sharp acclivity rises, upon whose sides the principal part of the city is built. The cathedral stands out prominently upon a plateau on the mountain-side. The castle stands beside it. They are of the twelfth century, and are the most striking objects in the view from the lake. Above these are costly and beautiful residences. From the higher elevations a magnificent view spreads out before the observer, the city at his feet, the lake lined with picturesque villages and landings beyond, and the snow-covered Alps in the distance. Grapes are cultivated here, and one is reminded of Naples and Capri by the walls and pathways on the mountain-side, and the men and women ascending and descending. A new post-office has recently been erected by the Swiss government. It is built of a local rock, of a rich yellow color. Its architecture is radically different from that in favor with the United States government architects. Several times I stopped to read upon its sides the names of the greatest postal cities of the world, and to admire its beauty of color and design. One could wish that our American postal authorities might break away from the severe lines now in vogue and adopt some of the artistic and graceful conceptions utilized at Neuchatel.

We reached this interesting city by the lake on the 20th of May, 1896, and at once proceeded to the Hotel du Soleil, a modest but comfortable place of rest, which was to be our home for the succeeding three days. Before we reached it, the two great-

great-granddaughters of a Colonial resident of Falkner Swamp, had called and left their cards. This act at once made Mrs. Dotterer and myself feel that we were not without friends in this to us strange place. The kindness we received from these two ladies and their families during our stay we appreciated most heartily and remember most vividly.

Agnes Louise LaTrobe, wife of Count Peter de Salis-Soglio, and Mary Cecilia LaTrobe, wife of Rev. Prof. Georges Godet, are the first and third children, respectively, of Charles Joseph LaTrobe and Sophie de Montmollin; the granddaughters of Rev. Christian Ignatius LaTrobe and Anna Benigna Syms; the great-granddaughters of Anna Margaretha Antes and Rev. Benjamin LaTrobe; the great-great-granddaughters of Henry Antes and Christina Elizabeth Dewees, of Frederick township. These ladies were glad to meet one familiar with the home of their honored ancestor, and conversant with the character, the career and the environments of that ancestor.

Madame Godet's home is close to the lake. Prof. Godet is the head of the School of Theology. He is deeply interested in the sufferings of the Armenians in Turkey and the Stundists in Russia; and has done much by pen and word to raise funds to alleviate their needs. Madame Godet feels a deep interest in the American history of her family. She placed before me a number of relics and souvenirs of her ancestors, and books written by the LaTrobés and John Antes. One of these was a letter written by B. H. LaTrobe, son of Rev. Benjamin LaTrobe, to Colonel Frederick Antes, his uncle. It was dated at Philadelphia, April 8, 1798. Young LaTrobe had come from London in 1796 to the United States to pursue his profession of architect, in which he afterwards became famous. Rev. Charles Ignatius LaTrobe was a voluminous author, having written works on sacred music, travel and religion.

The Countess de Salis resides in a chateau, named La Plota, on the eminence overlooking the town and lake. Count de Salis is a gentleman of broad culture and is wedded to Art. He is Director of the local Museum of Art and Antiquities. The Countess also has many treasures bearing upon the family history. She has the MS. diary kept by her father, during a visit to the United States in 1832. One of his fellow-passengers was Washington Irving. Between them a friendship grew, which re-

sulted in their making a journey together to the Western States. In June, 1833, he visited Harrisburg, and there called upon Henry Antes, a cousin of his father. He says, "Mr. Antes's father, my father and Mrs. Governor Snyder were first cousins. The old emigrant (Henry Antes) is buried somewhere on the road between Easton and Philadelphia. Snyders lived at Selins, a few miles from the junction of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna. Am promised before I leave the country a sight of all the family documents that can be procured."

An interesting relic in Madame Godet's possession is a wooden chest, seven and a half inches wide, five inches deep and seven inches high, with a sloping lid held by two brass hinges. It has an ornamental, raised hand-carved back an inch or two high. On its front is carved



and below this is an arabesque design. The history of this box has been lost; but it is believed to have been made by Henry Antes, who was a skilled handicraftsman. The figures are the year of his birth, and, as his baptized name was John Henry, it is inferred that I A stands for Johann Antes. A full-size crayon drawing of this antique object has been made for me by the Countess Elizabeth Sophie de Salis-Soglio, the daughter of the Count and Countess de Salis. It fills a place in my library.

The father of the sisters, Charles Joseph LaTrobe, was the first Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, Australia. In that then new land they spent their childhood. They have many souvenirs of this period in their lives; among others a series of pencil drawings of the house and gardens of their Australian home, made by Edward LaTrobe Bateman, a great-grandson of Henry Antes. Mr. Bateman is most clever as a landscape gardener. He has made many plans for the Marquis of Bath. The drawings referred to are four inches by six inches and some twice this size, and are twenty-two in number. They are highly prized, as may be readily inferred, by these ladies, one of whom—the Countess de Salis—was born in that antipodal country.

Madame Godet possesses a silver service—teapot, sugar basin and cream jug—which was presented to the Rev. John

Antes LaTrobe, a great-grandson of Henry Antes, and brother to the Lieutenant-Governor. It bears this inscription in old German characters :

Presented to
The Revd. J. A. LaTrobe, M. A.,
By his Grateful Friends
at the close of his highly valued labours
as Lecturer of
Melton Mowbray,
January 1, 1841.

Most delightful were the hours spent in these homes of culture, in which are treasured so many memories of the fore-parents. Every word relating to Frederick township, and Falkner Swamp, and Bethlehem, and Germantown, and Philadelphia, was eagerly sought. It gave me great pleasure to describe to these appreciative friends, as far as in my power, the landscopic features of the Swamp Creek Valley, the fruitfulness of its soil, and the worth of its inhabitants in the past and in the present. Particularly interested were they in my description of the grave of Henry Antes, their ancestor, in a field on his farm, protected by an American five-rail fence, and overgrown with underbrush and shaded by the indigenous wild cherry and sassafras trees. All this was new and strange to them—the field burial, our fencing, our native trees. My use of American terms, whose meaning was unfamiliar to them, compelled me to stop, now and again, to explain their origin and import. Since my return home it has been my great pleasure to find and forward to Neuchatel a map of Philadelphia and surroundings forty miles north and west, on which is marked the private burial place of the Anteses on Swamp Creek, and the names of places which frequently occur in the history of Henry Antes' career."

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